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2

CONVERSATIONS AND JOURNALS

IN

EGYPT AND MALTA,

BY THE LATE

NASSAU WILLIAM SENIOR,

MASTER IN CHANCERY, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, MEMBRE CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE, &c., &c., &c.

AUTHOR OF 'A TREATISE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY,' 'BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES,' 'ESSAYS ON FICTION,' 'HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAYS,' 'JOURNALS KEPT IN TURKEY AND GREECE,' 'JOURNALS KEPT IN IRELAND,' 'JOURNALS KEPT IN FRANCE AND ITALY,' 'CORRESPONDENCE AND CONVERSATIONS WITH ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE,' 'CONVERSATIONS WITH M. THIERS, M. GUIZOT, &c.,' 'CONVERSATIONS WITH DISTINGUISHED PERSONS UNDER THE SECOND EMPIRE, &c.

EDITED BY HIS DAUGHTER,

M. C. M. SIMPSON.

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CONVERSATIONS AND JOURNALS IN EGYPT AND MALTA.

CAIRO.—*Continued.*

Monday, January 28.—Mr. Lieder called on me.

We talked of the different Egyptian populations.

Lieder.—Among the middle and lower classes, I prefer by far the Mussulmans to the Christians; as a medical man I have had much to do with both, and I find the Mussulmans more honest and more friendly. A Mussulman has no intermediate between God and himself; he believes that his sins will be punished. The Christian, especially the Greek, the Armenian and the Syrian, expects always to wash out his sins by penance and absolution. He looks to the priest, not to God, for forgiveness. The quantity of business that is transacted here on honour between Mussulmans who cannot write or even read

is enormous, and I scarcely ever hear of frauds among them, or even of disputes.

All the eastern churches adopt the Nicene Creed as it stood before the words, "*and the Son*," were interpolated after "*proceeding from the Father*," and consequently hold the procession of the Holy Spirit to be from the Father alone. They are all ascetic, and have therefore monasteries and nunneries; among the Copts the bishops are taken from the monks. They invoke the Virgin and the saints, and, as I said before, trust to penance and absolution. As to the Eucharist, they believe in consubstantiation, a doctrine which it is difficult to distinguish logically from transubstantiation, but which does not seem to produce the same practical results.

Wednesday, January 30.—Mr. Green, the manager of the Transit, dined at our *table d'hôte* to day.

I asked him about the earthworks of the Suez road, of which I had heard a bad account.

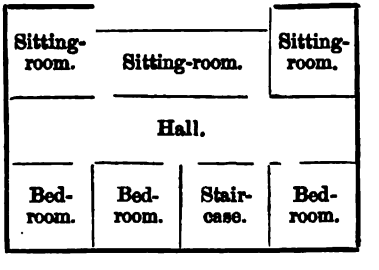
Green.—The line is misdirected at the beginning; it makes an angle to avoid a field belonging to an American. In this country there is no law of expropriation; the Government buys or seizes. When it encounters a proprietor who will not sell, and is under

consular protection, it goes round him. An Austrian subject spoilt our line near Alexandria. He asked twenty times the value of his land; we were afraid to seize, so we went round. It is a pity that the Government does not come to an understanding with foreign powers or with the Consuls, and adopt a fair system of compulsory expropriation.

We had an hour's rain to day, which rendered the streets and roads impassable.

Friday, February 1.—I dined at Walne's country house in the village of Minieh, about two miles from Cairo. The house covers a good deal of ground. The ground-floor is, as usual, given up to the kitchen and the servants.

On the first, or living floor, is a large hall running through the house, with the staircase and three bedrooms behind it, and three sitting-rooms in front. This is about the plan:—



The furniture of the sitting-rooms consisted of a deep divan running all round them, a stove in one, which we found very comfortable, a table and a few chairs. I found there Mr. Ayrton and Abdallah Bey. Mr. Ayrton was in the India Company's service; left it, and went to the bar; came to Egypt, was employed by Abbas Pasha to teach English to his son, Il-Hami Pasha, and is now the manager of Il-Hami's rather complicated affairs.

Abdallah Bey was Mr. Rickards. He too was one of Abbas Pasha's favourites, and managed for him the transit service. He was displaced by Said. His apostasy is accounted for by a rather trite bit of romance.* It is said that he was attached to an Egyptian girl, the daughter of a Sheykh in Minieh, that the intrigue was discovered, that she was to be sewed up in a sack and thrown into the Nile, unless he married her. But an infidel could not marry a Mahometan, so to save her he became a true believer, and married her. Walne has seen her, and says she makes an excellent wife.

We talked of Abbas and Said.

Walne.—I knew Abbas well; we quarrelled from

* I ascertained that this story is true.—N. W. S.

time to time, but I was one of the few foreigners with whom he was at his ease. It is not true that he was cruel—that is to say, that he had a pleasure in simply inflicting pain, or was even indifferent to it. But he was irritable, and affected to be so still more than he really was. I have known him send for people, fly into an apparent passion, and threaten to behead or beat them to death, and as soon as they were gone, confess that it was a farce. There never was a Mussulman country—there have been few Christian ones—in which the proportion of capital punishments to the population has been smaller than it was in Egypt during his reign. He sent away many persons, of whom he was afraid, to the Soodan. It was said that they were all poisoned or drowned on their road. But on Said's accession they all returned except one or two, who were proved to have died a natural death. The most marked feature in his character was timidity. He had all the other faults to which that great fault is a predisposing cause. One of them is excessive severity, which looks like cruelty, but differs from it in not being wanton, in being prompted by an undue desire for safety—and of this he was guilty. Another is suspicion—and he was suspicious, as indeed are all his family. He was exceedingly

sensitive to European opinion, but was too ignorant to know how to conciliate it. His great amusement was palace-building, which he carried on with the recklessness and caprice of a child, as if he was building and pulling down and rebuilding by means of slaves of the lamp, instead of the labour and money of the Fellahs. His constant fear—and, as the event showed, a just one—was assassination.

Senior.—You believe then that he was murdered?

Walne.—Certainly I do. A friend of mine, who has good means of investigation, made it his business to ascertain the fact, and did ascertain it. Six men were engaged in it; five held him down, while a sixth suffocated him with a wet cloth and the pillows of his divan.

Senior.—I heard that only two persons effected the murder.

Walne.—Two would not have been enough. He had great strength, and would have thrown them off. The day before it happened an acquaintance met my friend in the street, and said, "The man is going." The next day they met again, and he said, "The man is gone." I have always suspected Nasli Hanem of having had something to do with it. She was at that

time in Constantinople intriguing against him, and one of the murderers came from thence. I do not believe that Said Pasha was privy to it before the act, but he showed no wish to punish or even to detect the actors. It may have been to screen them that the surgeons were ordered to report that the death was natural.

Ayrton.—In fact, from the death of Mehemet Ali, Abbas and Said were plotting against one another. Abbas was trying to alter the succession in favour of his son Il-Hami. It was with this view that he betrothed Il-Hami to the Sultan's daughter; and I believe that it was for the purpose of getting the acquiescence of France and England that just before his death he sent Il-Hami to Europe, from whence Said recalled him.

Said, on the other hand, was always trying to form a party against Abbas. He tried to conciliate the Oulad Ali Bedouins. He privately armed and drilled men on his own account; we discovered a plot of his to seize Abbas' person on one of his journeys, which failed only because Abbas passed through the village in which it was to have been executed before he was expected. Abbas punished Said by resuming some of the estates which had been granted in farm to him by Mehemet

Ali; and, in fact, made Egypt so unpleasant, perhaps so dangerous, to him, that he left it and went to Europe. He was well received and fêted in France. In England we were afraid of offending either the actual Viceroy or the heir, and we took half-measures. Our civilities were enough to offend Abbas, yet not enough to satisfy Said. I hear that he showed his displeasure by praising everything in France and abusing everything in England, which did not mend matters.

Abdallah.—We received him far too well for such a tyrant.

Senior.—You call him a tyrant, and so do many others, but few persons have been able to accuse him of particular acts of tyranny.

Abdallah.—They have been able, but they have been afraid. I *could* give you a hundred if I chose, and I *will* give you one or two. The Under Zábit, or police magistrate, of Alexandria laughed at his return two days after he had 'set out on his European tour in the summer. Said ordered him to receive five hundred blows, a punishment from which he can scarcely recover. You have heard how he treated the Zábit of Cairo a fortnight ago?

Senior.—I have heard that the Zábit was dismissed

for not having exerted himself to detect the perpetrator of a murder on the Mooskee.

Abdallah.—To have dismissed him would have been right. He was, though an honest man, quite unfit for his post. But he has been sent to the galleys —that is to say, to forced labour in chains. You have heard how he invited the Bedouin Sheykhs to a conference, and then fired on them with his artillery.

Senior.—I have heard of it.

Abdallah.—Have you heard of the Bedouin prisoners whom he blew from his guns? of those whom he set up, tied two and two, as targets for his negro riflemen to shoot at?

Senior.—I have been told that he put to death many of his prisoners, but not the manner in which it was done.

Abdallah.—Have you heard of the circumstances under which Houssein Pasha left the army?

Senior.—Only in general that he was disgusted.

Abdallah.—About four hundred and fifty of the Bedouins surrendered themselves to Houssein Pasha on promise of pardon. Said sent orders that they should all be put to death. Houssein would not violate his promise, and let them go, whereupon he was dismissed

from the service. What do you think of the execution of the two men at Tantah? The story that is told is bad enough, but the truth is worse. Their crime was this: One was the Sheykh of a village which I know well, near Tantah. Like the other Shekyhs, he was required to send a son to the army. He persuaded one of his neighbours to send a son in the place of his own. The young man was imprudent enough to let this out —Said hanged both the fathers. In early life he showed this violence. His tutor Curling was afraid to stay with him, after he saw him shoot a ferryman who had kept him waiting.

Senior.—I heard that the person whom he shot was a man who brought him a petition.

Abdallah.—That may have been another. There is no doubt about the ferryman.

Walne.—Curling had also to fear for himself. He wrote to me and to Traill, Mehemet Ali's gardener, to say that Said had threatened him, and to request that if we heard of his death we would inquire strictly into its circumstances. Soon after writing that letter, probably as soon as he had an opportunity, he went to India, where he has since died.

Ayrton.—It is impossible that such things can be

allowed to go on. The consuls-general must interfere. Each of them, however, is thinking only of increasing his own influence and undermining the others. The consuls in the smaller pashalics exercise more control over the Pashas, for they write straight to Constantinople.

Senior.—I do not see what right of interference these facts give to the consuls.

Ayrton.—Are we not interested in the prosperity of Egypt? and is it not retarded, almost destroyed, by a misgovernment which, by destroying all security, prevents all improvement?

Senior.—We are interested in the prosperity of every country with which we have commercial relations: in that of Venice, for instance, and in that of Sicily. They are both of them horribly misgoverned, but we do not hold ourselves entitled to interfere.

Ayrton.—The government of Egypt was created by the five Powers. That gives them a right of interference.

Senior.—The government of Egypt—that is, its quasi-independence—was created by Mehemet Ali. All that the five Powers did was to replace it, in a certain degree, under the Sultan.

If we had let Mehemet Ali alone he would have founded a perfectly independent dynasty. If the Sultan misemploys the authority which we have given to *him*, we have a right to remonstrate, perhaps to do more. But between us and Said Pasha there is, in legal language, no privity.

Abdallah.—Well, I agree with Ayrton that things on cannot go as they are. If foreigners do not interfere, his own people will. He will share the fate of his predecessor, and we shall have a much better man in Achmet.

The other guests returned to Cairo. I slept at Walne's.

Saturday, February 2.—At breakfast this morning I recurred to our conversation of yesterday, in the latter part of which Walne had not taken much part.

Walne.—I think it probable that Said may not last long, and that the reign of Achmet, who is by far the best of his family, will be an improvement, but it will not be permanent. In a few years all this family will have disappeared.

Senior.—Why so? They are numerous, and as marriage is not necessary to the legitimacy of children,

any one of them, Halim, for instance, may have, like Ahmed Tahir Pasha, 280 children.

Walne.—So had many of the Mamelukes, but their families all died. Nothing foreign seems to prosper in Egypt. Without being able to justify my expectations, I feel no doubt of the extinction of this dynasty.

Senior.—And what is to follow?

Walne.—The worst that could happen would be the restoration of Turkish rule; for that is the worst calamity that can befall a people.

The Turks are quite right when they boast that where a Turkish horse has left his print no grass will grow. The sole object—the only purpose—of a Turkish government is plunder, and their means are violence and treachery. They are too stupid and too ignorant to see that by improving the prosperity of a people they can increase the revenue which they draw from it. They look to nothing but immediate robbery. The instant any man shows symptons of wealth he is plundered. The instant any branch of trade becomes profitable the Pasha seizes the monopoly of it and lets it out. The instant that any branch of cultivation seems to be peculiarly advantageous, the Pasha requires the cultivator to

sell to himself at his own price all the produce. Hundreds of men were hanged by Mehemet Ali for robbing themselves—that is, for stealing food from their own cornfields. If Egypt falls back into the hands of the Sultan, the canals will be neglected, the desert will grow on it, the agriculture will deteriorate, the population will diminish, the roads will become unsafe, there will be famines and plagues. The Bedouins will be again masters of the Suez Desert; we shall lose both our commerce and our transit; and I doubt whether in the hands of an independent Mussulman sovereign it would be much better off than in those of a Pasha.

Mussulman institutions, Mussulman habits of thought, and Mussulman rules of conduct, seem to be utterly incompatible with tolerable government. To become a province or a dependency of some European power would of course be the best thing for the country, but in that case France has the best chance of getting it. In the first place, she is determined to have it. She covets it eagerly. She has long done so. All her oriental policy is subservient to this object. This gives her an enormous advantage over us, who do not wish for it, who

have never paved the way for obtaining it, and would submit to receive it only to keep out the French. Then Alexandria is much nearer to Algiers, and indeed to Toulon, than it is to London. The French could occupy it before we could intercept them, perhaps before we knew that they were on their way; and when once they are there I doubt whether we shall be able to drive them out. Alexandria is strong. The French constructed those fortifications for their own use. If we do not make it a part of the acknowledged policy of Europe that Egypt is never to become part of a Christian empire—if we allow its possession by a European power to be an open question—we may make up our minds to its belonging eventually to France, for no other country can so easily seize it.

Senior.—What do you think of declaring Egypt a neutral country, and putting at its head a Christian Sovereign, supported by a mixed garrison of 10,000 Europeans and 20,000 natives.

Walne.—It would be an enormous gain to the country. You might give your Sovereign £100,000 a year for his Civil List; and at least a million sterling, which is now annually wasted on palaces or hoarded, might be remitted or employed productively

on additional irrigation. A million a year so employed would in a few years double the productiveness and the wealth of the country. But what would the Porte say?

Senior.—The Porte has really no interest in Egypt except as respects its tribute, and would not get that if Egypt had not been conquered for her by the four Powers in 1840, and were not now held down by them. The Porte might be conciliated by an increase of tribute, which the increased resources and diminished expenses of Egypt would enable her to pay easily.

Walne.—And whom would you put there?

Senior.—There is Louis Philippe's family; there is the Coburg family; there is the English Royal family But why need we limit our selection to a royal stock? The Bernadottes have turned out excellent sovereigns in Sweden. Joseph and Murat were the best kings that Naples ever had. I should be inclined to take some man who had already shown great administrative talents, such a man as Sir Stamford Raffles, or Lord Metcalfe or Lord Elgin—you might take General Randon from Algiers—his rule need not necessarily be hereditary; it need not even be for life. To be the representative and organ of European civilisation in Egypt for ten years, or even for five years, would be

a grand object of ambition to the most distinguished statesman. I do not say that there are not great objections and great difficulties in the way of this plan. But are there fewer in the way of any other? And is there any other which offers so great advantages?

I returned after breakfast to Cairo. M. de Lesseps called on us.

The Viceroy, he tells me, is going to make the Canal of Irrigation from Lake Timsah at his own expense, Lesseps, on the part of the intended company, agreeing to take it from him at 8,150,000 francs, to be paid by a transfer of shares at par. He offers to take shares to the amount of 40,000,000 francs, which, according to the mean of the information I have received, is about half the revenue of Egypt for a year. Lesseps spoke very highly of Mr. Bruce.

Lesseps.—No one has more influence with the Viceroy. He expressed to me when we met at Tantah some regret that Rushton was no longer intrusted with the construction of the Suez Railway. I mentioned this to the Viceroy, and Rushton has been restored.

At dinner, I related to Bruce this conversation.

Bruce.—For my personal comfort it would be better if not an Englishman was in the Pasha's service; but I am glad for the sake of the Pasha, and of the Railway, that he has restored Rushton, for he is not merely the fittest, but the only fit man in the country. He is the only man who has had real railway experience. As for my influence with the Pasha, I have always found him perfectly fair and reasonable. I never asked him to do anything that it was not for his real interest to do, and he has had the sense, not common among the Turks, to understand this. I once, too, had an opportunity of doing him some service—at least, of saving him some days of trouble and anxiety. Abbas died in the night of Wednesday and Thursday, July 10–11, 1854. Elfi Pasha, the Kyaya, who is a sort of deputy-viceroy, and Mustapha Bey, the Governor of the Household, had gone to Alexandria with Il-Hami Pasha, Abbas' son, to put him on board the steamer which was to carry him to England. They left Alexandria on their return on Thursday morning, took the railway to Benoufou, and thence made their way to Benha, Abbas' palace. They reached it about eight on Thursday morning. Abbas was not visible. They waited till eleven, and then went into his room. There they

found him motionless on his divan, his jewel-box broken open and empty. They sent for his two physicians—Diamant Bey and another, who declared him to be dead. Abbas had long been intriguing to get the inheritance of the viceroyalty altered in favour of his son Il-Hami, to the exclusion of Said, Achmet, and three or four others, all senior to Il-Hami, and therefore before him in the succession, according to the Turkish law, and to the Firman of 1841. Mustapha and Elfi had been Abbas' confidants in this scheme. They had just sent Il-Hami to Europe to carry it on. To them the succession of Said was the substitution as sovereign of an enemy for a friend, indeed, of a man whom they had endeavoured to ruin for one whom they had been zealously serving. They seemed to have been unable to look the new state of affairs steadily in the face, and to acknowledge that there was no remedy. Like orientals, they temporised. They sent to Alexandria to order a steamer to be instantly despatched to recall Il-Hami, and in the meantime concealed the death. In the evening they dressed the body, made two slaves carry it downstairs as if it was walking between them, placed it in a carriage, and drove to the Abbasseeyeh, which they reached early on Friday morning. They sent

for his mother and one or two others of his family; and it was resolved that the body should be buried that morning, but that nothing more should be done or said until Il-Hami's return. The sight of a funeral procession going from the Abbasseeyeh through the desert to the tomb erected by Mehemet Ali for his family excited attention. I was at that time shooting below the Barrage. One of my people heard strange rumours, and sent down a boat to inform me of them, and to bring me up. I arrived on Saturday morning, and saw Mahmoud Pasha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, one of the honestest Turks that I have ever known. He expressed to me his belief that Abbas was dead, and that some plot was hatching against the heir. I went immediately to the citadel, saw Elfi Pasha, told him that I understood that Abbas was really dead, and asked why he had not sent word to Said, the successor. He answered that Said's right to the succession was not clear, that he could not acknowledge him until the Sultan had been consulted. I answered that Said's right was perfectly clear, that I should take measures, unless *he* did so, to inform him instantly of what had happened, and that I should denounce him to Said and to the Sultan as a rebel. He saw that the plot had

failed, so submitted, and sent off a courier to Said at Alexandria. Said received the news on Sunday, and was at Shoobra on Tuesday. Elfi Pasha immediately visited him. He was very ill-received by Said's suite; but very well by Said himself. His ill-success, however, the loss of his patron, the fear of disgrace, perhaps of worse, so affected him that he died a few days afterwards. He went from Shoobra to his own house, and never quitted it alive.

Senior.—I heard that the ship which was sent to bring back Il-Hami did not overtake him.

Bruce.—It was not sent. The Governor of Alexandria suspected something wrong, and did not obey the order.

Senior.—All this shows that Said was not privy to the murder. If he had been, he would not have been inactive for four days.

Bruce.—Among all the lies that are told respecting Said, this has not been ventured on. He has never been accused of having had any knowledge of the conspiracy, though it has been said that he did not exert himself to detect the conspirators.

Senior.—Do you believe in the murder?

Bruce.—I am inclined to believe in it, though not

from direct evidence. In this country direct evidence can seldom be procured on any subject whatever, and the little that you get is always contradictory. But the disappearance of at least two of his Mamelukes; the opportuneness of the death, one day after Il-Hami had sailed, and while Elfi and Mustapha were absent; the testimony of many who saw the body that it bore marks of violence; and the general belief—outweigh in my mind the certificate of the surgeons that he died of apoplexy. They do not pretend that they opened the body. I am not sure that they even undressed it. They ascertained the important fact that the man was dead, and as to the cause of death gave the certificate which was likely to give them the least trouble afterwards.

Senior.—Walne suspects Nasli Hanem of having had something to do with it. He says that some of the people about Abbas were sent by her from Constantinople.

Bruce.—Walne has lived so long among orientals that, though a very clever man, he sometimes reasons as ill as they do. Nasli and the Sultan were Abbas' bugbears. He was in constant terror of them both, and never would have taken an attendant from either of them. The Mamelukes that he bought in

Constantinople were selected for him by a trustworthy person quite above any foreign influence.

Senior.—Do you believe that Said was plotting against Abbas?

Bruce.—I do not. Said may have talked imprudently—he received great provocation—but I acquit him of any overt acts. Those who suppose that any man can make himself a party in Egypt—that he can effect a revolution, or even an insurrection against the ruling power—do not know the country or its instinctive prostration before authority. A viceroy or a governor who exceeds the ample amount of cruelty and oppression that is expected from a Turk may perhaps be strangled in his divan, but he will never be resisted. On the other hand, Abbas was always planning the destruction of Said, and of all who stood before Il-Hami. If he had not feared Europe, and perhaps Constantinople, they would have disappeared in time. I have little doubt that if he had lived twenty years longer he would have found means to get rid of them. One of his schemes to acquire influence in Constantinople was characteristically childish. He tried to find out what new purchases or presents had become favourites with the Sultan, and to buy for himself their

sisters. When the Sultan changed his favourite Abbas changed his.

I called on Mary Bey.

Mary Bey.—Solyman Pasha and I were the founders of the Egyptian army. We disciplined the negro regiments, which were Mehemet Ali's first regular troops. When he raised Fellah regiments, his great difficulty was with his officers, who treated their men with the utmost cruelty and contempt. They were Mamelukes, bought young in the Turkish slave-markets, bred up without any of the tenderness or restraints of home, and suddenly intrusted with arbitrary power over men whose language they did not understand, and whom they looked down on as beings of an inferior species. I have heard Mehemet Ali lecture them for hours on the affection which the colonel ought to bear towards his regiment, the *chef de bataillon* to his *bataillon*, and the captain to his company. I was afterwards attached to Ibrahim, and was his aide-de-camp in his campaigns against the Wahabees, and in the Morea. I was present when Mehemet Ali received the letter from Sultan Mahmoud requesting his assistance in the Morea. Nothing could be more

affectionate; he addressed him as his brother, and entreated him to become the saviour of the Ottoman Empire. Mehemet Ali was delighted. He resolved immediately to send off Ibrahim with eight regiments, and afterwards increased the Egyptian army in Greece to 20,000 men. Our success, however, put an end to the Sultan's gratitude, indeed converted it into bitter jealousy; his troops had been as uniformly defeated as we had been victorious.

As I can speak English I was Ibrahim's interpreter at the conference between him and the European admirals at Navarino. Sir Edward Codrington managed it on the part of the Allies. He told Ibrahim that the three great powers, England, France and Russia, required him and his army to leave Greece. Ibrahim answered that he was a subject and a soldier, and, having received no orders to that effect, could not stir. Codrington replied that in that case the allied fleets would enter the Bay of Navarino and destroy the Turkish and Egyptian fleet. Ibrahim repeated that they must do as they liked, that he could not act without orders, and so the conference broke up.

When they were gone, Ibrahim said to me, "I never saw such people or heard such language in my life." "I

do not wonder at that," I answered, "for this is the first time that you ever talked to men who were not your father's subjects. You ought to have asked for a delay until you could consult your father." "I ought," he answered, "but I lost my temper, and my presence of mind." "Well," I said, "we must not stay here: what will happen to-morrow is not a sight for us to witness." So we marched off, leaving orders with the forts not to take part in the action. Two days after we returned. The shore was strewn with dead bodies. We buried the Egyptians and Turks; on which Codrington sent word to us that unless we buried the Christians too he would batter down the forts; under that threat we complied. The order to us to quit the Morea was repeated, and Ibrahim now thought his honour satisfied, and obeyed. I don't think that he much regretted the destruction of the Turkis fleet; we suspected at the time, and we afterwards ascertained, that the Sultan had ordered his fleet to carry Ibrahim and his army to Constantinople instead of to Alexandria.

Senior.—But would the army have submitted?

Mary Bey.—What could it have done? The Egyptian fleet was small and weak—only a few

frigates and corvettes. The troops would have been embarked on board Turkish vessels. They were ignorant; they would have been sea-sick. They would not have known whither they were being taken. Ah, if Ibrahim had lived, Egypt would now have been independent. He often said to me, "When I am Viceroy, I shall pay the first year's tribute, but they must come for the second." He would have had an army of 120,000 men, and 100,000,000 of revenue.

Senior.—What was Mehemet Ali's largest army?

Mary Bey.—About 220,000 men. He had at one time 120,000 in Syria, 50,000 in Arabia, and 50,000 in Egypt. Abbas turned his troops into carpenters and masons. He had not 50,000 soldiers, but he employed 120,000 men on his palaces. He built and pulled down the Abbasseeyeh four times over, every time making it larger, uglier and more uncomfortable than before, until at last he produced the gigantic hospital into a corner of which Il-Hami Pasha creeps.

Did you ever hear of Mehemet Ali's attempt to turn me into a Turk?

Senior.—No, when was it?

Mary Bey.—It was in 1826. He said that Sève and I must become Mussulmans, and he would make

us generals and pashas. Sève consented, and became Solyman Pasha. I refused on three grounds: first, that I believed in Christianity; secondly, that I had been an officer of Napoleon's; and thirdly, because I was a Corsican—that is to say, a native of a country so Catholic that a Jew is not allowed to live there.

"What," I answered to Mehemet Ali, "would my relations in Ajaccio say if they heard that Mary Bey had turned Mussulman?"

Senior.—And how did he take it?

Mary Bey. — Exceedingly well. He even augmented my pay, but he never promoted me beyond the rank of colonel.

Do you know that you owe Aden to me? Captain Moresby was desired to fix on a coaling depôt beyond Suez. He selected one on the Abyssinian coast. I objected that that coast was rainy and unhealthy, and advised him to take Aden, an unoccupied peninsula in a dry healthy country. You were to have had there only a storehouse for your coals. When you bought the peninsula from an Arab chief, and fortified the Isthmus, both Mehemet Ali and Louis Philippe were very angry. They denied the right of the Arab to sell a portion of the Sultan's territory.

We required you to make out the Arab's title; *you* required *us* to make out the Sultan's title. The dispute lasted till your occupation became a *fait accompli*; and when once a thing is a *fait accompli*, no more can be said.

I walked afterwards with Mr. Walne on the Shoobra road, and turned off to the village of Minieh, which adjoins his country house. Its area appeared to me to be about six or seven acres.

Walne.—At what do you estimate the population?

Senior.—At about 500.

Walne.—When the Census was made in 1847 the number returned was 800. Some days after, when I was going out, I found the village surrounded by a cordon of soldiers. They made the men stand in one part, and the women in another, and counted them, then entered and counted the sick; the total was found to exceed 1200. Since that time the population has increased. I am inclined to attribute our epidemics—which, in the form of fever, plague, or cholera, recur about every ten years—more to our overcrowding than to any other single cause. Each of those little hovels, five feet high, with a couple of rooms about eight feet

by six, or one room fourteen by ten, without window or chimney, receiving light and air only from the door, contains perhaps at an average five persons. The epidemic thins them; they remultiply, and the epidemic recurs.

Senior.—But why do they not spread beyond the wall which is the boundary of the village?

Walne.—Because that wall marks the extent of the raised ground; the flat ground all round it is inundated.

Four or five men were sitting at the gate. "They are the Sheykhs," said Walne.

They gave us coffee. We asked them why they did not build farther into the plain. "Because," they said, "we should be washed away by a high Nile." "But you might raise the ground a few feet." "Certainly; but it would be expensive, and we have no money."

Farther on, just beyond the wall between the village and a canal now dry, and converted into a wheatfield, where the land is rather higher, we found a sort of suburb consisting of perhaps an acre covered with low huts; at one corner of it was a black camel-hair tent, or rather paravent, for it was open at the sides.

Walne.—There sleeps the Bedouin who protects this

suburb. He must not sleep in a hut, which would have a door to go out of which he would have to stoop. He must be ready to sally as soon as his dogs give the least alarm. Formerly, no one ventured to sleep beyond the village wall. This suburb, which probably is not fifteen years old, is the result of our increased security.

Senior.—How old do you suppose this village to be?

Walne.—Who can tell? Perhaps 5000 years, perhaps 10,000 years. Egyptian chronology is like that of geology—we are forced to draw largely on time.

The land about the village, though near to the great market of Cairo, seemed to me ill-cultivated.

Walne.—That is owing to this canal having been suffered to fill; it has not been cleaned out for three years. In that time about four feet of mud have accumulated in it. The persons whose duty it is to see that the Fellahs clean out the canals are paid about £50 a year. They can make £200 or £300 a year by taking bribes to report that work has been done that has not been done. I know that in one of the upper provinces an inspector got about 2000 dollars last year for false reports.

Senior.—I should have thought that the interest which the Fellahs must feel in the cleaning the canals would make them work actively themselves, and look vigilantly to the working of others.

Walne.—The Fellahs are often called on to work on a canal in which they are little interested, and which is at some distance from their village; and even when they are interested in the work, nothing will pay a Fellah for working out of his village; only force will remove him from it for a week or two. As to their vigilance in seeing that others work, no Fellah will venture to denounce an officer of the government, or to call in question his report.

Do you know how Hekekyan Bey lost his situation as sanitary inspector in Alexandria? In the first place he was very active and useful—this alone excited jealousy and suspicion. "He must have some bad motive," said the Turks; for the idea of public spirit or of a wish to do good never enters into their minds. He thought, as I do, that our epidemics arise from overcrowding. He had remarked that the annual fairs at Tantah, at which perhaps 100,000 persons are collected in a narrow space for some weeks, are always followed by sickness. He asked for a return of the

area of all the principal villages and of the number of their respective inhabitants, on which Abbas turned him out. "No safe man," he said, "would ask such questions."

I had great influence with Abbas, but it was by stratagem. Direct advice he never would take; but I could often lead him to adopt as his own notions which I had thrown out slightly and incidentally.

As we returned through the town, I remarked on the substitution of large European windows for the old picturesque meshrebeeyehs, or deep lattices projecting into the street.

Walne.—The modern windows are ugly, and they let in the sun; but the inflammability of the meshrebeeyehs makes them dangerous. In this climate projecting wood burns like a torch. In our great fire a few years ago, I frequently saw the flames dart across the street to a meshrebeeyeh, and fire a house in an instant. Luckily during that fire we had no wind. If we had had a north-west gale half the town might have perished. It was a dreadful time. We had a much better police then than we have now; but still the fire gave much opportunity to pillage; and when that was found out,

the thieves became incendiaries. Mehemet Ali was at Alexandria. He sent orders that half-a-dozen men should instantly be hanged as incendiaries. This was done, the incendiarism ceased, and the fire died out after having raged for a week.

I talked with Mr. Bruce this evening about some of the Viceroy's recent measures.

Bruce.—Some experience of semibarbarous governments has led me to adopt two rules in judging them. One is to look at the general results, not at the details. However good the general results may be, the details will never bear European criticism. Now the general results of the Cavala Dynasty are good; with all their wars, their profusion, their monopoly and their oppression, Egypt has gone on progressively improving—never more so than during this short reign of Said. Another rule is to look at the objects of the government, not at the means which it adopts. The goodness or badness of the former a stranger can estimate. He scarcely ever can be a good judge of the expediency or the necessity of the latter. The objects of these recent measures are good. It is quite right that the Bedouins should pay taxes, and that both the

Sheykhs and the Bedouins should be subject to the conscription; the means used may have been rash or violent. I do not think that I have a right to affirm that they were, or that they were not. But I know enough of the people to be able to affirm that the Tantah executions did not revolt them. The proportion of the punishment to the offence is not an idea that ever enters an oriental mind. Disobedience is to be punished—whether by flogging, by mutilation, or by death is regarded as a matter of comparative unimportance by the public, and indeed by the sufferer. What is to us an atrocity is to them only an act of vigour. The Sheykhs disobeyed an express order and were hanged. "It was the will of God," so said they, and so said the bystanders; and I am not prepared to affirm that with less severity the Viceroy's object would have been attained. You must recollect how bad the agents are that he has to use, and how few are the motives which he can employ. They are indeed only hope and fear; and as he can hold out hope only to a few, but fear to all, fear is his principal instrument.

It is certain that, apart from the general interests of humanity, we have a strong national interest in the improvement of Egypt. Egypt benefits so enormously

by her intercourse with us, that if she had a tolerable government—a government of ordinary intelligence, and influenced in any degree by public opinion—there would be no danger of that intercourse being interrupted: what danger there is arises from the ignorance and stupidity of the Government, the want of a public opinion, and the smallness of the power which the little public opinion that there is exercises. In short, it arises from the barbarism of the country.

Senior.—How then is it to be civilised?

Bruce.—Certainly not, as many persons seem to suppose, by directly coercing it from Constantinople. Constantinople is more ignorant, more stupid, more corrupt than Egypt. On the other hand, unless some other great changes are made, I do not wish to see Egypt altogether independent of Constantinople; the fear of Constantinople, the knowledge that an appeal can be made to the Sultan, is some restraint on a man who is subject to scarcely any other. With all his frankness, his *bonhommie*, and his commercial liberality, Said is as impatient of control as Napoleon. But as a Turk he has a traditionary veneration for the Sultan, and I should be sorry to lose that hold on him, such as it is. It must be used, however, very gently;

he must be led, not driven. The attempt to coerce him may make him French or Russian, not liberal. I believe that we ought to manage him by conciliation, by never opposing him except when what he is doing is clearly wrong, by supporting him whenever he is right, by countenancing as little as possible any unnecessary interference of the Sultan; in short, by adopting a policy and a tone very different from those of 1841. I saw once a good deal of a sensible French diplomatist, a M. Bourrit, who had lived long in the East. "It seems to me," he said, "that in 1840 both France and England mistook their *rôles—we*, whose influence is greatest at the Porte, ought to have endeavoured to weaken Egypt in order to govern her from Constantinople; *you*, whose trade and transit give you so much power in Egypt, ought to have strengthened her, and enabled her to stand alone. For that purpose she must have Syria. *You* ought to have maintained her in its possession, *we* ought to have taken it from her."

Senior.—I fear that our indignation at Mehemet Ali's treachery led us to adopt a personal policy.

Bruce.—Yes; and that policy continued during his life, and in some quarters much longer. Murray acquired his influence over Abbas, which was most useful,

principally by opposing the Egyptian policy of the British Ambassador at Constantinople. There is something amusing in the notion which some people have of the duties of the British Consul. An English house here supplied the rails for the Alexandria Railway. They hoped to supply those for the Suez line. The Viceroy very properly has opened the business to public competition, and has accepted the lowest tender, which is not theirs. Whereupon they write home in great wrath, and say that nothing is to be done in this country while the Viceroy is in the hands of those cursed Frenchmen.

Sunday, February 3.—I walked this morning with Hekekyan Bey to the Citadel to call on Edhem Pasha. On our way we met a very handsome man, squarely and strongly built, with a dark brown complexion, whom Hekekyan introduced to me as a major of artillery. He shook me very cordially by the hand and passed on.

Hekekyan.—I will tell you his history. He is an Afghan, and came to this country with four or five of his countrymen, about twenty years ago, to seek his fortune. They were lodged in a khan, in which was another guest, a rich merchant from Bagdad.

A watchman is appointed to every khan, who locks it up at night, and comes to open it in the morning; one morning the watchman on his arrival found the merchant strangled. The Afghans were seized; and as it was clear that some of them had done it, and probable that all were cognisant of it, it was proposed—and, indeed, according to oriental justice it was proper—to hang them all. But Mehemet Ali wanted men for his war with the Sultan; they were five strong young men, so instead of hanging them he made soldiers of them. This man was placed in the artillery, distinguished himself, and is now a major. When I was employed in my geological researches for the Royal Society he was sent to me as an assistant. Perhaps he was sent also as a spy, for those researches perplexed and disturbed Abbas and his court terribly. They tried more than once to stop them. One day, when my boat was moored off Sakkārah, one of my men, who had been sent into a village to buy provisions, returned severely beaten. I went with my boat to the shore of the village, and sent to require the presence of the Nazir or Governor. Instead of him came the Kadi; he threw the blame on the Nazir, who, he said, had taken the man for a robber, and,

fearing the consequences of the mistake, had crossed the Nile. I asked the Kadi if he would go with me, and try to catch him. He assented, and we began to row our boat across the river. We were pursued, however, by boats from the village, who overtook us, boarded us, seized the Kadi, and carried him back. I have no doubt that the whole was a trick suggested by the Government, or perhaps by our Afghan acquaintance, to get me to enter the village, where a scuffle might have been got up, and I might have been shot from a window or from behind a wall.

We found our way to the very noble room at the end of which is Edhem Pasha's divan. His secretary was by his side, and five or six persons were reading letters, to which he was dictating answers. We entered unannounced. He placed us beside him on his divan, gave us pipes and coffee, and for about a quarter of an hour divided his attention between us and the letters.

I asked why he was pulling down one of the town gates near the Esbekeeyeh.

Edhem.—They are all to be pulled down. Now that we have no octroi, the Pasha thinks gates

useless. If thieves wish to get in they can always climb the walls. Cairo is to be an open town, with the power of expanding all round.

This will be a great comfort to many who have houses beyond the gates, and are now subjected to troublesome formalities in order to get them opened at night. Abbas issued orders which made it impossible to pass the gates after eight in the evening. It was said that this was for the purpose of annoying his relatives, Mehemet Ali's sons and grandsons, whose palaces are in the suburbs.

While we were with Edhem Pasha, Linant Bey entered unannounced, like ourselves, took his seat on the divan, smoked and talked for some time, and then went up to the Governor's seat, and whispered to him for a minute or two. This is the oriental mode of doing business with a minister.

After leaving the Governor, we took with us one of his Tchaousses, and walked over the splendid mosque of the Citadel. The four great piers which support the dome are at their bases of fine Egyptian alabaster. So are the walls, but from about a foot above their bases the piers are covered with merely painted wood.

"This," said Hekekyan, "was one of Abbas' vandalisms. He wanted alabaster for one of his palaces, and stripped it from the piers of his father's mosque. The fine rooms in which we left Edhem Pasha, and the noble staircase that leads to them, were all paved and wainscoted with variegated marble. Abbas stole the whole of it in one night, and replaced it with wood. It was in this way that his palaces rose like exhalations.

From thence we went to Sultan Hassan's mosque, built, like Abbas' palaces, of stolen materials, for the stones were taken from the Pyramids. Its lofty porch, fretworked with deep stalactites, its high walls, with few exterior windows and with no ornament except a bold cornice, are noble and imposing. The porch opens into a domed square hall; the corners, as is usual in Saracenic buildings, fitted with highly wrought fretwork and inlaid throughout with scrolls, panels, and medallions in coloured marble and brass. Beyond is an open court, with a deep recess on each of its four sides, covered by a pointed arch of about sixty feet span. It is simple and grand, but rather naked when contrasted with the profuse decoration of every other part. Though not older than the fifteenth century, it is ruinous.

We then visited a large mosque in the centre of the town, which may best be conceived by supposing the great quadrangle of Christ Church, Oxford, to be paved with marble, except where it was planted with palms, sycamores, and acacias; the fountain larger, and covered by a kiosk with a deep cornice, and a high and broad cloister with a double arcade to run round it, into which should open the hall, converted into a mosque, consisting of three long aisles richly decorated. About thirty Arabs were lying down in the cloisters, under the palm-trees, and by the fountain, silent and placid, apparently enjoying the repose, shade and tranquillity of this oasis in the large, dirty and crowded city. All the mosques are scrupulously clean; no one enters them except barefoot, or with slippers brought in the hand for that purpose; and this mosque was in good repair.

The last that we entered was that of Sultan Berkook, perhaps the most richly ornamented that we saw. The inlaid marble and bronze arabesques are still perfect, but the gilding and paint have become dull, and much of the ornamental wood-work is perishing. A Koran is preserved in this mosque which was written and illuminated by Fatima, the Sultan's

daughter. Its guardian refused to show it to us without an express order from the Goverment. "But," we said, "the Governor has sent his own kavass with us, with directions to have everthing shown to us." "That may be true," he answered, "but I must have an order or writing that I can keep, or this very kavass may come and ask me for money on the threat of accusing me of having shown the Koran to Christians." "But the Governor will not listen to it," we said; "he is our friend." "Yes," he replied, "but I may be teased about it when Edhem Pasha is out of office." His fears must have been real, as they deprived him of backsheesh.

On the whole, on comparing the Saracenic mosques with the only one of any merit built by the Turks, that of the Citadel, the inferiority of the Turkish taste is striking. The form and proportions of the Turkish mosque are simple and noble, because they are copied from the Saracenic models, but the details are detestable; large ugly oblong windows, copied from those of the palaces of Constantinople, are introduced below the cupola without any excuse. All is gaudy and inharmonious. The details of the Saracenic buildings are faultless. If they had chosen better their materials, if they had not made so much use of bad stone and of

wood, or if their successors had kept them in repair, the mosques at Cairo might have been as celebrated as the Alhambra; but the Turks are not merely unable to invent—they cannot even keep up.

As we returned through the town we met many rough-looking men, some on foot, others on horseback, armed with swords, pistols, and carbines.

Hekekyan.—These are Arnouts or Albanians. Several thousands of them have been imported into Egypt during the last four or five months. They are to act as irregular troops. They are well paid, but arm, feed, clothe, and lodge themselves. The regular army hates the service, and hates the Viceroy. If an invading enemy were to proclaim liberty to all who chose to return to their houses, they would disband and leave the Viceroy with only his Turks and foreigners. *They*, as soldiers by profession, would stick by him, until they thought him likely to be beaten.

Senior.—I hear that he is adding to the disaffected portion of his army by extending the conscription to the Christians.

Hekekyan.—He is doing so, and the Christians cannot complain of it, provided they are kept separate, and put under Christian officers; if they are mixed with

Mussulmans, or if their officers are Mussulmans, the new service will be a new and a frightful persecution. Their companions and their superiors will hate and despise them, and will have almost unlimited means of showing their dislike and contempt. They will be worried and oppressed, perhaps starved and beaten, till they abandon their religion.

We drove in the afternoon to Matareeyeh, the Greek Heliopolis, the On of the Pharaohs, the great seat of Egyptian learning during the Twelfth Dynasty. Joseph married the daughter of the High Priest of On. Pythagoras, Herodotus and Plato are said to have lived there. All that remains are some mounds, on one of which the modern village is built, and the obelisk of Osirtasen, the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty. Hekekyan estimated its age at 5178 years, thus computed: He believes the obelisk to be what he calls a Siriac monument—that is to say, a monument erected for the purpose of measuring the rise of the bed of the Nile during each Siriac period—a Siriac period being the time (1461 years) which elapses between two risings of the star Sirius at the same instant with the sun. Such monuments were always erected on the edge of the desert, on a foundation of fine sand, rammed

into an excavation about six feet deep; and the base, the first stone placed in the sand, was exactly on a level with the highest Nile flood at that time, and in that latitude. The bed of the Nile rises five inches and three quarters in every hundred years, or about 57½ inches in every thousand years. The highest Nile flood is now about 25 feet above the foundations of the obelisk, which gives 3322 years before Christ as the epoch of its erection.

Our road lay through plains covered with wheat, sugar-cane, pomegranates, and olives, irrigated by frequent sakeeyehs distributing water to every field, and intersected by canals and by long avenues of acacia, sycamore, and tamarisk. We found the obelisk in a garden, in the centre of the extensive mounds which mark the enclosure of the great temple of On. Its base is now buried to about 12 feet, and about 13 feet above the ground is marked the level of the highest Nile flood of modern times. Down to this mark the wild bees build in the hieroglyphics, but they descend no lower, so that those of the first 19 feet are visible. On two of the sides they begin by a straight line $20\frac{7}{10}$ inches long, recording, according to Hekekyan, the length of the cubit of the time. At the garden gate,

on a divan built of mud, we found Mustapha Bey, a venerable Turk, the owner of the garden. He placed us by his side, gave us pipes and coffee, and told us his history. He is the last of the Mamelukes. He is now eighty-five, and consequently was forty in 1811, the time of the massacre. He was then absent from Cairo, concealed himself until the persecution was over, then offered his services to Mehemet Ali, was accepted, and rose to the rank of Bey or Colonel.

I asked him the number of those who were killed. "Eighteen hundred," he answered, "in the first day, in the Citadel and in Cairo—2200 afterwards—in all, 4000. Etem Bey fell in with a party of Bedouins, claimed their hospitality, and was forwarded by them across the desert to Syria, from whence he reached Constantinople. He was well received there, rose high in the Sultan's service, and died not many years ago."

I called on Ruyssenaer, and found with him Bruce and Lesseps; great pleasure was expressed at the demolition of the gates.

Bruce.—It will make a revolution in the habits of the Cairenes; every one will now try to get out of the city into the suburbs.

Ruyssenaer.—One of the first measures of Said's reign was the abolition of the octrois and internal custom-houses, which impeded commerce throughout Egypt; and it was an act of vigour and courage, for the octroi of Cairo was then farmed by Hassan Pasha, one of the most powerful men in Egypt. In every thing that concerns trade Said is the reverse of Mehemet Ali. Mehemet Ali's whole system was one of monopoly, prohibition, taxation and restriction; Said's is one of freedom. The comparison between England and France produced a strong effect on him; he was teased in France by passports and octrois, and ascribed to its commercial freedom the superior wealth of England. In these matters England is his model.

Have you heard what the Bedouins about Sioot have done?

Senior.—Those who burnt their tents, took land, and promised to live like Fellahs?

Ruyssenaer.—Exactly so; they began by trying to force the Fellahs to work for them. But either their original submission was a trick, or they found that they would have to work for themselves more than they liked, for they have plundered the Fellah villages near them, killed several men, seized about 250 camels,

and gone off, to the number of about 800, to the desert. They were pursued, fifty or sixty camels recaptured, and about thirty Bedouins taken, but no one knows what has become of the rest. More than 1000 piastres were found on the prisoners.

I hear too that the Oulad Ali are collecting.

Senior.—The Oulad Ali are the Viceroy's friends.

Lesseps.—Very doubtful friends; they might be relied on against the Fellahs, but there is not much real friendship between Bedouins and Turks.

As I left Ruyssenaer's I met Ayrton Bey.

Ayrton.—I quite sympathise in Lesseps' fears as to the Oulad Ali; I saw several of them in the summer, after they had been fighting the tribes of the Said.

They were sulky and dispirited, and evidently ashamed of having been engaged on the side of the Turks against Bedouins, though those Bedouins had been at feud with them. As for those who have fled from about Sioot to the desert, I hear that they had much to complain of; that they had been plundered and oppressed by the Government, and that one of their Sheykhs who went off to the desert in the summer, and returned on promise of pardon, was hanged.

Senior.—I am surprised at this, as Latif Pasha, the governor of the province, is described to me as an excellent man.

Ayrton.—He is a clever man, but a rascal; more unprincipled than even the average of Turks. The fact that he is the Governor of the Said increases the probability that the Bedouins have been treated cruelly and treacherously.

Monday, February 4.—Mongil Bey drank tea with us. We talked about the dependence of Egypt on its canals.

Mougil.—If the Nile were let alone, and allowed to work its own will, it would inundate the Valley and the Delta once in five or six years, and not rise above its banks during the others. The inundation would sweep away buildings, men, cattle and flocks into the sea, and during the dry years there could be little cultivation. Egypt would be a jungle of reeds and tamarisks. To prevent this, a system was adopted many thousand years ago, which is still continued, though probably with less science and less care than were used in the time of Cheops. In the first place, the Nile is confined by mounds, raised from time to time when it

becomes necessary, so that it cannot spread laterally except as it may be artificially conducted. In the second place, it is tapped from Girgeh downwards by canals. The higher level from which this water is taken enables it to be carried far into the interior, and sluices at the mouth of the canals prevent it from being excessive. These great arterial canals feed smaller ones, which again are subdivided into streams and rivulets, and spread over Egypt a network of irrigation. They require constant cleaning out; a canal neglected for one year becomes shallow, and in a few years dry. But at this time of the year the water of the canals is nearly exhausted. On the banks of the Nile irrigation is continued by means of water lifted by buckets, called when worked by men shadoofs, when worked by oxen sakeeyehs. At a greater distance from the Nile recourse is had to wells, from which the water is drawn by the sakeeyehs. They are among the most picturesque objects in the scenery of the Delta. A sakeeyeh consists of a couple of wheels at right angles, the teeth of the horizontal one meeting and driving those of the vertical one. The horizontal one is turned by the ox, the vertical one raises the buckets from the well, and throws the water into the rivulet. Three or

four large sycamores or acacias, and sometimes clusters of palms, are planted over every sakeeyeh to protect the ox and its attendant. Their shade, the freshness of the stream, the herbage that springs round it, the noise of the splashing of the water on the wheels as they turn, and of the wind among the acacias and palms, make one envy the sakeeyeh man, who sits smoking by its side all the day.

The sakeeyeh water is also Nile water, for, as no rain falls, all our wells are supplied by filtration from the river. The subsoil both of the Valley and of the Delta is deeply impregnated with salt—not common sea-salt, but principally saltpetre—the sakeeyeh water therefore always is brackish. A portion of the alluvial matter which the river brings down, and of the sand which is blown into it from the desert, are deposited in its bed, which therefore has a tendency to rise. If the land did not rise too, the river would flow at a constantly increasing height above the plain. It would be necessary to raise its banks higher and higher, and they would become weaker, and from time to time an unusual inundation would burst them, and the water would spread ruin over the valley and plain. This is the case with the Po. The flow of the water of the

Nile over the land has four effects: First, it washes away the salt left by the sakeeyeh water; secondly, it destroys all weeds and insects; thirdly, it softens the hard clods; and, fourthly, it spreads over the surface a layer of mud, of which the thickness is in proportion to the time during which the inundation water is allowed to remain on the land. The obelisk of Heliopolis is now buried about 13 feet; the highest Nile rises about 12 feet higher. Supposing, as is probable, that the obelisk was erected on land which the inundation did not reach, the bed of the river has risen since the times of Osirtasen (who is supposed to have been the Pharaoh of Joseph) 25 feet, and the surface of the land 13 feet, in the space of about 3600 years; so that the relative rise of the bed of the river, or, what is the same, the relative subsidence of the earth, in the neighbourhood of Cairo has been 144 inches in 3600 years, or 4 inches in a century. Probably the most convenient elevation of the highest Nile over the surface of the land in this neighbourhood is about 12 feet, and that proportion appears to have been kept for many years.

Senior.—Have you heard that Razinski, the Pole who was Chief of the Staff of the Egyptian army in

Eupatoria, and distinguished himself much after the death of Selim Pasha, has been dismissed from the service?

Mougil.—I have not heard of Razinski; but the story is not improbable, as Menecle Pasha, who commanded that army, has been dismissed. He is a strong man in the prime of life, yet he left the Crimea on the plea of ill-health, after St. Arnaud and Lord Raglan had died at their posts, and went to Constantinople, where he intrigued to get a Turkish order, and abused Said Pasha. When he reached Alexandria he was told that if he was so ill he had better retire to his country house.

I saw the Viceroy to day, and we talked about the sons of the Sheykhs. "The Sheykhs and their families," he said to me, "were the most ignorant, ragged and useless aristocracy that ever were seen. They would not work, they could not read; they passed their lives in smoking and contriving how to oppress the Fellahs, and to defraud the Government. They owe forty years' arrears of conscription; I take from them the arrears of only twenty years, and I shall return their sons in a year or two educated and civilised, with more knowledge of men and of things than they

would have acquired in ten years squatting before the gates of their villages in the sun in winter, and in the shade in summer." "Your highness," I answered, "has treated them with justice, but it was justice *à la Turque.*"

Senior.—Was not that a bold speech?

Mougil.—Not to Said; *il est bon enfant*, and is not easily offended when he suspects no wish to offend. Perhaps he took it as a compliment.

Mr. Green, the manager of the Transit, sat next to me at dinner. He is in despair at the interference of the Government with the railway.

Green.—A railway depends on punctuality and on arrangement, and the Turks have no idea of either. Yesterday Sabbatier, the French Consul, persuaded the Viceroy, without consulting anybody, to issue an order that no train should leave Alexandria before eleven in the morning.

That delay may enable him three or four times in a month to get his letters on the day that the packet enters, and for this petty convenience the trade between Alexandria and Cairo is deranged, and the passengers reach Cairo in the dark. On Saturday orders came to

Tantah that all the passengers should be turned out of their seats, and left on the road, in order to take in 340 Skeykhs' sons, the Pasha's recruits, whom he wished to send to Cairo. There were thirty or forty Englishmen and Americans in the train. I wish that the officials had persisted, and had tried to force them out of the carriages; it would have tested their power. Any day, just as the train is starting, some 300 or 400 soldiers or Turks are sent to me, or come to me without having been sent, and require to be forwarded. I have sent word to the Pasha that if he will merely tell me on one day what he will want on the next, I will provide for him. But he is a child with a new plaything, and wishes to have it always in his hand. It is useless to remonstrate with a Turk; he cannot reason, and therefore does not understand you, and supposes that you are making difficulties for some purpose of your own.

Senior.—Is the railway profitable?

Green.—I would take a lease of it, and give him five per cent. on the outlay and £150,000 a year; but then it must be managed like a European railway. With this system, or rather absence of system, it may not pay its expenses.

Senior.—I hear constant complaints of loss of luggage.

Green.—Of course you do; there is no police where the railway crosses the river. The bridge is not built, so there is a change of carriages; 500 wild Arabs are let loose on you, and fight for the luggage. I wonder that any of it comes to hand. We suffer all the evils of anarchy as well as all those of despotism.

Senior.—Do you employ any Arab drivers?

Green.—If I did all my English drivers would leave me, and very rightly, for their lives would not be worth a month's purchase. We have only a single line. An English driver, who knows that there is an engine coming up, will not start, whatever be the authority that commands him; an Arab, though he might forsee the danger, or rather the certainty, of a collision, would obey. A few days ago an order came from the Pasha to forward some persons immediately by a special train. I objected that an engine was coming up. "Nonsense," said the man who brought the order; "you engineers are always raising difficulties to frighten us; we must go." "Well," I answered, "there is the engine-driver, ask him if he will go." The driver of course flatly refused. If he had been an Arab he would have obeyed.

He would have said, "If it be the will of God that I am to die to day, I cannot save myself. If it be His will that I am not to die, I am safe."

Tuesday, February 5.—I walked with Hekekyan to Matareeyeh, the ancient On, to see the tree under which the Holy Family is said to have reposed during the flight to Egypt. We followed the line of the Suez Railway. At about a mile from the town we found a gang of 300 men and boys employed in taking earth in baskets from a distance of about 100 yards, and raising a mound with it; about ten persons holding palm-tree sticks were superintending them. They had to make, we were told, about seven metres a day, which generally took them about ten hours, exclusive of meals; but when their work was done they might go. The pay to which they are entitled, without any distinction of age or strength, is fifty paras (about threepence) a day; but forty-five paras a day are stopped as the price of four very hard sour biscuits supplied by the Government, which, with water, form their food for the day. The remaining five paras are to be paid to them when they are dismissed, which they will be after thirty days' service. But it will be paid in a receipt

from the Government, to be taken in payment of taxes. Of two superintendents with whom we talked, one said that they never would get the money, the other said that their Sheykhs would take from them the receipt, hand it in to the tax-gatherer in payment of the taxes of the village, and account to them for it. The first superintendent smiled incredulously.

The superintendents kept striking them with their sticks, crying, "Imshee! imshee!" ("get on! get on!"), but not in general hard enough to hurt; if a heavy blow was given, it fell on the basket, not on the person. But they were as truly worked under the lash as a horse is. This, however, is not offensive in Egypt. In the streets my coachman cuts right and left, without discrimination, at any person in his way. In the railway carriages the third-class passengers, who stand staring at the novelty of the scene, are admonished to sit by being struck on the head by the sticks of the railway-porters. Farther on we met a gang wheeling along the line some empty carriages. They were under the guidance of two lads about fifteen, who were applying their instruments, which were whips, not sticks, more roughly. I saw several receive sharp cuts. They sleep in tents pitched near their work.

I can understand the Fellah's aversion to Government employ. He is taken from his village, which he never voluntarily quits, forced to labour for ten hours a day in constant terror of the stick or the whip, fed on hard sour biscuit and water, and is rewarded, when he gets home, with a credit on the Government of a halfpenny for each day that he has worked; a credit of which the real value seems to be doubtful.

I fear that the Suez Railway and the Suez Canal will occasion much suffering and loss of life. The greater part of the work will be done in the desert. Those who make the railway will have no water, except what is carried to them from a distance of fifty or sixty miles. Those who cut the Navigable Canal will have none, unless the Fresh-water Canal is dug first, and unless it retains its water during the whole period of their work.

We walked through several Fellah villages and a Bedouin one. The first of the Fellah mud huts that we looked at contained two rooms: one for the cow, the other, about fifteen feet by eight, for the family. The furniture consisted of a mud bank for sleeping on, running like a divan round the room; mud jars, fixed in the ground, containing the berries of maize to eat,

and its dry ears for fuel; one or two baked pitchers holding milk and water, and one which had been on the fire. There may, however, have been more, as we could not see well into the room, which had no aperture, except at its entrance. There was no door.

Some of the other huts had two rooms for the family, but smaller. The Bedouins seemed to be better off. Their village was on one of the mounds of the Temple of On. Some families have merely a black camel-hair tent, open at one side, with a partition separating the males from the females. In one, probably that of a Sheykh, were mud jars for chickens, others for kids, besides a place for a cow. Most of the children were naked.

The hovels of Egypt are the rudest human abodes that I have ever seen; lower and smaller than the worst Irish cabin or than the worst huts in Algiers. But their owners are little in them. In a climate of constant sunshine, where there is no rain, and nothing that can be called cold weather for more than a month, a house is scarcely wanted, except as a meeting-place for the family and a receptacle for its little property. They spend the day in the open air, and often the

night. We passed several groups, the centre of which was a buffalo, tethered in a clover-field, with four or five children by its side with their provisions of bread and water. They had been sent thither at sunrise, and would remain till sunset, basking in the sun, and breathing the air from the desert.

The greater part of our road lay along the edge of the desert, by the side of a wall and of a long line of tamarisks, which have been placed there to keep off the sand. On our left was a canal, in Mehemet Ali's time deep and full, but now half choked by mud, and holding only a few pools of water at long intervals. We passed a mosque on the edge of the desert on the site of a Christian monastery, which may have replaced a temple of Phre or of Ammon; near to it are the vast foundations of a mosque which Abbas was building at the time of his death. It commands the northern approach to the Abbasseeyeh. The wall towards the north is thirty feet thick, the others are about fifteen. It must have been intended to have been a fortress as well as a temple. Vast blocks of stone from the Mokattam quarries, prepared for the mason, with the marks denoting their future position, are lying all around. In 1000 years they will be covered with sand.

Massive building materials, some only marked out, some half cut, some just ready to be removed, and some halfway from the mountain to the river, are found along all the hills which afford good stone. The death of the Pharaoh, or the King, or the Sultan interrupted the work, as has been the case with Abbas' mosque, and it never was resumed.

We talked of the intended Congress.

Hekekyan.—The Turks will be all kindness, toleration, progress, and liberality. Words and firmans and tanzimats cost them nothing, and they will be squandered; but let them once succeed in obtaining their darling object of breaking the alliance between France and England; let them once be able to play France against England, and England against France, and Russia against both, and they will throw off their assumed civilisation, return to their bare legs and large breeches, and govern and misgovern again as they did fifty years ago. Those fifty years have not diminished their hatred or their contempt for all that is Christian, except our power.

What do you suppose is the address of a Turk to the King of Naples? "Napoli Krali, Genablerinah" (to the Neapolitan King, the respectable). To a Christian

porter: "Henry Smith, Genablerinah" (to Henry Smith, the respectable). But to a Turkish porter it would be: "Devetlou Ibrahim Agha Hazaretlerinah" (to His Majesty Ibrahim, the lord, the happy and fortunate).

Among one another every Turk is "Hazaretlerinah" (your majesty). A Christian is only "Genablerinah" (your respectableness). Since the war, however, Queen Victoria and Louis Napoleon have become "Hazaretlerinah," but as soon as peace comes they will sink back to "Genablerinah." The Turks always speak of the Egyptians as "our subjects," not, as you would call the Irish or Scotch, "our *fellow*-subjects."

As to Europeans, they fancy they are all merchants. A beggar always addresses you as "Ya Hawágha" (O merchant). When a salute was fired for the Duke of Brabant, my servants told me that they were firing in honour of the arrival of the grandson of the chief merchant in France.

I will try an experiment with the ragged man at this sakeeyeh. I will say to him, "Salaam aleykoom" (Peace be between us).

(He did so. The man looked sulky and did not answer.)

Hekekyan.—He does not admit that there can be peace between him and an unbeliever; the most that he will allow is a truce.

You have heard that there is much emigration from Egypt to Syria. Yet Egypt is by far the finer country, has the finer climate, and, according to our ideas, is the better governed. The Turk does not think so. The restraints here on his independence, such as they are, disgust him. He wishes to be able to drown his wife and to beat his slave to death. He cannot bear the regular visits of the tax-gatherer, and the regular requisitions of soldiers and labourers. He had rather be at war with the Pasha, be plundered from time to time by those who are stronger than he is, and be able to plunder all who are weaker. He is a gipsy. Egypt, the common on which he had made his encampment, has been enclosed. He has gone in search of another. In time his brother gipsies in Europe will follow his example. The Christians are building round their commons. They have taken from them Servia and Greece. They are going to take Wallachia and Moldavia; soon they will want to enclose Bulgaria and Roumelia. The Turk must decamp. He must be off to Asia Minor, and from Asia Minor civilisation will

pursue him until he takes refuge in his native wastes of Tartary.

I think that the Viceroy ought to be represented—if not directly, yet indirectly—at the Congress. There ought to be some one on his part to watch the proceedings of the Turks. It is important that they should not be allowed to tighten the link between Turkey and Egypt. In some respects perhaps it ought to be loosened. For instance, the highest judicial authority in Egypt, the Kadi of Cairo, is sent from Constantinople. He buys his office, and must be annually confirmed in it, of course on fresh payment. Justice and law are administered to the Egyptians by a foreigner who does not understand their language, who obtained his place by bribery, and must bribe to keep it. You may conceive what sort of justice and of law they get. Again, forbidding the Pasha to grant any rank above that of Bey is a rule of no value to the Sultan, except so far as it may facilitate his intrigues in Egypt, but mischievous as well as degrading to the Viceroy; so is the restriction against the granting of land. The Viceroy may grant the use of land, but not its property, and it is a doubt whether his grants do not lose their validity at his death. If the relations

between Egypt and Constantinople are reconsidered, these are points to be attended to.

The Tree of the Virgin is a sycamore of considerable antiquity, but not apparently much older than some of its neighbours. It may defy its enemies for some centuries to come, but I fear will be destroyed by its friends; some American travellers cut off a branch in my presence. We looked again at the obelisk. Hekekyan made me observe that the diagonal line which cuts through the two great Pyramids also cuts through the obelisk, showing the connection of the three monuments. I remarked to him that the stain of darkish red about twelve feet above the soil of the garden in which it stands, which was left by the waters of the Nile at their highest inundation, must have been the result of many years during which the water was allowed to flow unrestrained over the plain near Cairo; and yet that the garden round it would be ruined by an inundation.

Hekekyan.—That is true. It is only once in many years that the water is allowed to flow over this garden, when the salt of the sakeeyeh water must be washed out. But that mark was left in the times of the Mamelukes,

or of their immediate successors, when Egypt was falling rapidly into barbarism and ruin: the canals and the mounds were neglected, and the waters of the Nile were allowed to stand in this neighbourhood year after year. The consequence has been that the level of this plain is unusually high, probably some inches higher than that of the plains over which the river has been more carefully admitted and retained.

It is probable that the arbitrary system of forced labour, to which Egypt appears to have been immemorially subject, and the absence of any completely allodial private property in its land, have been occasioned by this constant necessity of controlling and directing the waters of the Nile. The Nile is a tremendous engine for evil as well as for good. It is a hard-working slave or an oppressive master. Its management cannot be left to private interests or to private enterprise. The whole force of the country must be periodically called out to raise its banks, and to cut and deepen its canals. The Israelites demanded a king, that he might go out before them and fight their battles against men. The Egyptians required one to fight their battles against the Nile. If we suppose Egypt to be in the hands of masters still more

barbarous than the Turks—so barbarous as to let all the canals fill, and all the mounds fall into ruin—the whole country would be covered every year by a flood of seven feet high, rising perhaps in a year of unusual rain in the south to ten feet. Such a flood would sweep away all the towns and villages except those built on the desert or on mounds ten feet above the plain. A country subjected to such calamities would lose in a century or two all its wealth, its civilisation, and at last its population. It would relapse into jungle and marsh. It is possible that such events may have more than once occurred in Egypt. I have often thought that the Deluge of Noah may have been one. If we suppose Egypt to have been the cradle of the human race, and Noah to have been an inhabitant of the Valley of the Nile—and there is nothing in Genesis opposed to this—the Deluge may be the last of those events of which we have a record.

Senior.—You suppose this obelisk to have been placed on the edge of the desert; in that case the cultivated land has here increased on the desert, for we are now about half a mile from it.

Hekekyan.—Here it has gained a little; in other places, as towards the Pyramids of Geezeh, it has lost.

In general I believe its extent to have remained almost stationary since the embankment of the Nile.

Senior.—You do not admit then the theory that Rameses the Great owed his power to the possession of an Egypt much larger than the Egypt of our days?

Hekekyan.—I do not admit the theory in words, but I do in substance. I believe that the Egyptians of the times of Rameses, being far more civilised and far better governed than we are, occupied a territory much better irrigated, much more productive, and therefore much more populous, than our Egypt. For the last 2300 years we have been under the domination of the Hyksos. It is the second of their irruptions that has been recorded, and it has been the longest. It is perhaps the worst. The Persian, the Macedonian, the Roman, and the Arab Hyksos were all more civilised than the Turkish Hyksos. Probably the Philistine Hyksos were so too. Certainly Egypt recovered with wonderful rapidity after they were expelled. Perhaps we shall remain under the Hyksos for 500 years longer, perhaps for 700. But what are 3000 years in Egyptian chronology? A few centuries hence we may drive out these barbarous shepherds, and Egypt

under her Thirty-first Native Dynasty may regain the civilisation of her Eighteenth. The monuments erected by the Persian, the Macedonian, the Roman, the Arab, and the Turkish Hyksos will perish, as those erected by the Philistine Hyksos have perished. But the Pyramids will remain; Thebes and Philæ will be restored; a new Memphis may arise at Mitrahenny, and a new On at Matareeyeh; and 5000 years hence historians may doubt whether this second irruption of the Hyksos be not a legend.

We were out for seven hours and a-half, which accounts for the length of this conversation.

Wednesday, February 6.—I breakfasted with Lesseps at the palace. We had knives and forks and plates, and Johannisberg, a present from Prince Metternich; but the breakfast in other respects was Turkish, the sheep roasted whole was as usual the principal dish. All was excellent except the sweet dishes, which were, as they generally are in the East, too sweet.

Thursday, February 7.—I went with Mr. Lieder to visit the Copt Patriarch. We found him smoking on his divan, at the end of a long naked room. He gave

us pipes and coffee, and we conversed through Mr. Lieder's interpretation. We talked first of the doctrines of the Coptic Church.

The Patriarch said that they approached much nearer to the Lutheran than to the Roman Catholic opinions.

Patriarch.—We believe in consubstantiation, not in transubstantiation. We believe the Bible to contain all that is necessary to salvation, and we do not consider the Apocrypha as a part of Scripture. We do not believe in Purgatory, or in the power of any human being to grant absolution. All that the priest can do is to pray for the sinner. In short, the principal differences between our Church and yours are that we believe the Holy Spirit to proceed from the Father alone, that we rely on the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and of the saints, and that we have monasteries and nunneries.

He passed to the affairs of this world, and spoke with grief and alarm of the extension of the conscription to the Copts. He was anxious, he said, to have the advice of Mr. Bruce, but feared to excite the jealousy of the Government if he called on him or received him. It

was settled that he should meet Mr. Bruce in my apartments in the evening.

Friday, February 8.—The Copt Patriarch, accompanied by his schoolmaster as interpreter and by Mr. Lieder, drank tea with us, and met Mr. Bruce. He claims to be the oldest Patriarch in the Christian Church, and to be the successor, in an uninterrupted line, of St. Mark.

In Egypt he has rivals in the Roman Catholic Bishop and in the Armenian and Constantinopolitan Patriarchs, but in Abyssinia his spiritual power is undisputed. He entered at once on his grievance, the extension of the conscription to the Copts.

Patriarch.—It amounts to a persecution. In many places all the Copts capable from their age and strength of serving are taken. In Sioot all the males in one house—and they amounted to eleven—were seized. Not one was left to support the women and children. My brother, who has two sons, one of them a priest, has fled from his village with his sons, and is in concealment in Cairo. Under Abbas, Copts were sometimes taken, but when complaint was made they were released.

Bruce.—Not always released; they were sometimes

sent to work on the railway. I remember some who complained of the exchange, and said that they were much better off as soldiers. In fact, the Fellah hates military service, as he hates everything that takes him from his village, but he is much better clothed, fed, and taken care of in the army than on the public works.

Patriarch.—Not a Christian. A Christian no sooner enters a regiment, or rather the prison into which recruits are put until they can be embodied, than an attempt is made to force him to turn Mussulman. These ignorant people consider their fasts on Wednesday and Friday as the principal part of Christianity. Meat is forced into their mouths. They fancy that if they swallow a morsel they have committed mortal sin, and turn Mussulman in despair.

Senior.—Could not your Holiness grant them a dispensation?

Patriarch.—Of course I could. I grant a dispensation from fasting to every one who asks for it; but they will not accept it. A few days ago I had to threaten a woman with excommunication if she persisted in fasting against the orders of her physician. She did persist, and died.

Bruce.—I think that you may fairly demand that the

religious feelings of the Copts shall be respected, and, as the only means of effecting this, that they form a separate corps, under Christian officers.

Patriarch.—If that be done it will only be a change of persecution. The Copt Turks will be put in the post of danger. They will be sent into the desert, as some of the Fellah regiments were last summer in the Bedouin War, to perish of thirst and fatigue. The Pasha wishes to extirpate the Coptic Church. Almost all the scribes in the public service are, or rather were, Copts. They have almost all been discharged within a few months; hundreds of families are starving. The pretence is economy, but, as in many cases they have been replaced by Mussulmans inferior to them in education and ability, the real motive is hatred of them as Christians.

Bruce.—I fear that we cannot interfere with the Pasha's management of his troops, so far as respects their exposure to the dangers of their employment.

Patriarch.—But I think that if there is to be any interference in our favour means may be taken to prevent our being required to furnish an undue proportion of soldiers. We are only 217,000. The population of Egypt is 5,000,000. We ought not, therefore, to contribute more than one-twentieth of the whole

army. Sabbatier, the French Consul-General, offered to assist us, but it was on condition that I would order, as Patriarch, the Jesuits to be admitted into Abyssinia. Indeed, I fear the consequences of any interference, if it were known to be at my suggestion. If it were known that I complained, my people, and I myself, might be made to suffer.

Bruce.—Is it certain that all this is done by order of the Pasha, or even with his knowledge? Religious bigotry is not a part of his character. He may wish to make soldiers of his Copts, and as they have escaped as yet they are able, like the Sheykhs, to furnish a larger proportion of recruits than the Fellahs. But I doubt his wishing to make them Mussulmans.

Patriarch.—I do not believe that he does know all that is going on. I attribute the indiscriminate seizure of the Copts at Sioot to Latif Pasha. I attribute persecution of the Copt recruits at Boolak, where they were forced to violate the rules of their church, to the intolerance of the Turkish officers there.

Bruce.—If such be the case, may not the Pasha be reasonably displeased if the Patriarch, finding his people ill-treated by the Pasha's subordinates, tries to obtain redress through any one but the Pasha himself?

It seems to me that his Holiness ought to go straight to the Pasha, and tell him what he has told us.

Patriarch.—I fear that the Pasha would be offended, nor is it easy for me to see him. Abbas always received me, and so did Said at his accession, and gave me a pipe and a seat on the divan; but now I am treated in the palace like a dog. They keep me waiting in the passages, and at last tell me that the Pasha is busy.

Bruce.—Then your Holiness should write to him.

Patriarch.—That, too, might offend.

Bruce.—I think that *that* risk must be run. The Patriarch, placed in so high a position by his people, is bound to incur some hazards in their cause. He cannot accept the dignity without the responsibility. How are the consuls to take up the cause of the Copts if their own Patriarch is afraid to plead it before the sovereign, and is afraid even to be quoted as having complained of their treatment? Let the Patriarch memorialise the Pasha; if he fails the consuls will have to consider how far they ought to support him with the Pasha, or, if it be necessary, with the Sultan.

How much of Bruce's speech was interpreted to the

Patriarch I do not know. After some conversation between him, the interpreter and Lieder, all in Arabic, Lieder said: "The Patriarch is very grateful for Mr. Bruce's advice, and will follow it, and address a memorial to the Pasha."

His Holiness and his interpreter soon finished their cigars, and, accompanied by Mr. Lieder, took their leave. As they were going I said to Mr. Lieder, "I think that you had better see the memorial before it goes." "I think so too," he answered.

"His Holiness," said Bruce after they were gone, "is a specimen of his class—indeed, a very favourable one, for he has far more knowledge, liberality and talent that can be easily found among them. But not one of them has any backbone; they are all creepers clinging to foreign support, and if you once let them lean on you they cannot stand alone. I will say something to Koenig Bey about the memorial, and ensure its being read and considered, but if I let the Patriarch know that I do so, he will fancy that the matter is in my hands, and will do nothing himself."

Saturday, February 9.—We dined with Stephan Bey, and met the Corps Diplomatique: Ruyssenaer,

Lesseps, Pastoret, Clot Bey, and de Bonville. The dinner was admirable; bad cookery, not bad materials, must be the cause of the destestableness of the food in the hotels.

When we returned to the drawing-rooms, the men went into one of them to smoke; the women, Madame Stephan, Madame Sabbatier, Madame de Bonville, and Mrs. Senior, sat on the divan in another.

I talked principally to Clot Bey. He is the father of Egyptian medicine.

Clot Bey.—Egypt has a very healthy climate. There is much stone in the Delta. I have operated in perhaps two hundred cases, and have lost very few—not perhaps a fifth of the number that I should have lost in Europe. Unless tetanus supervenes, and it is rare, all wounds heal here with wonderful rapidity. The only other diseases are fever, ophthalmia, and diarrhœa; and by ordinary precautions they may be avoided.

Senior.—How do you account for their prevalence?

Clot Bey.—I cannot account for it. Every theory has some answer to it. Thus, ophthalmia is said to be owing to glare; but the Bedouins, who live in the glare of the desert, are not subject to it. As a general position, however, it may be laid down that all the

diseases of Egypt arise from cold, not continuous, but alternating with heat. The cold season is our unhealthy season. It is against cold that we are anxious to protect ourselves, not against heat. Look at our houses: all those of the richer classes have large windows, to let in as much sun as possible. Look at the clothing of the people: all who can afford it put on garment over garment of non-conductors—silk, wool, and fur.

Senior.—Yet you have no fireplaces.

Clot Bey.—That arises principally from our want of fuel. Wood is very scarce and dear. There is not a forest, there is scarcely a hard-wood tree, in Egypt. It arises also from want of skill to construct chimneys, not a very easy art even in Europe. The habits of the mass of the people are so bad, their bodies are so filthy, their dwellings are so wretched, their food is so ill-prepared, that the climate must be excellent, or they could not live. As for Europeans, they eat, drink and smoke, and take no exercise, and then say that Egypt is unhealthy.

It has rained, perhaps for an hour, on each of the last two days, an unusual occurrence at Cairo in

February. It is still cool in the mornings and evenings, but charming in the middle of the day. We found Madame Stephan's drawing-rooms chilly when we returned to them from the dining-room.

Sunday, February 10.—The Viceroy sent word that he would receive me to-day, so at four in the afternoon I went to the Kasr-en-Neel, where I found M. de Lesseps, and he conducted me through the garden to a third court of that great palace.

It contained a small park of artillery, and about a couple of hundred very handsome young men under drill. We entered a building at the end of the court, where, in a large circular hall on the ground-floor looking into the court, we found his Highness. He was seated in an armchair, with Gobbi, the Sardinian, and Sabbatier, the French Consul-General, sitting on his right. Selim Bey was standing behind his chair with a fly-flapper. Stephan Bey and Clot Bey were standing before him. Chairs were given to M. de Lesseps and to me on his left, and pipes. Sabbatier was reading to him a paper in French, containing the terms of a reference to arbitration. From time to time the Pasha commented on it, as did the others. The

matter of dispute was this : a Turk had been the farmer of a village in Egypt; that is, the village and its lands had been granted to him by the Pasha as tenant, he becoming responsible for the taxes. He died, having assigned the village to a Greek, also a Turkish subject, named Iscouros. The Pasha had refused to acknowledge the title of Iscouros, affirming that the lease ended with the life of the tenant. Thereupon Iscouros went to America, bought a bit of land in the State of New York, returned as an American citizen, and, under the protection of the American Consul, claimed compensation for the loss of his village. The Pasha asked me whether he would have any claim under the English Law. I asked whether the lease was for any fixed period. He answered, no; it was resumable at pleasure.

Senior.—Then, according to the English law, he is entitled at most only to gather in the crops which he has sown.

Viceroy.—He claims to be repaid for all the improvements which he has made, for sakeeyehs, shadoofs, buildings, and I know not what. It seems that he has almost rebuilt the village, and has expended on it twice as much as it is worth. However, I have referred the

matter to arbitrators, and have named his consul as one of them. I have another consul on my back. A Tuscan has killed one of my soldiers in Alexandria. The police seized another Tuscan, accused of being his accomplice, and delivered him to the Tuscan Consulate. I have taken him from thence, and put him into the ordinary prison. A consul is the judge between foreigners, but not when one of my subjects has been killed. The consul protests against his removal from his house, and is not satisfied with the prison into which I have put him. He wishes him to be lodged on the first-floor. I have told him that I think the ground-floor good enough for a prison. In many countries prisoners are lodged lower still.

He got up and went to the window to look at the soldiers, gave some order in Turkish, and immediately after stepped out into the court, and drilled the men himself for about a quarter of an hour. On his return, he sat again on his great chair, M. de Lesseps and I sitting by him, and Clot Bey and Stephan Bey standing in front. He asked us to admire the *bonne tenue* of his recruits.

Viceroy.—One of them amused himself the other day

with abusing me and abusing the service to the others. I said that if he thought the life of a Fellah better than that of a soldier, he should enjoy it. So I put on him a Fellah dress, walked him up and down before the regiment for an hour, and then sent him to a village to work as a Fellah for a month. It had an excellent effect. These young Sheykhs prefer perfect idleness to the service, but they prefer the service to work. This punishment alarmed them more than if I had given him, as most people would have done, a bastinado. I have raised 16,000 men, *et je n'ai pas enlevé à l'agriculture une seule pioche.* I have turned into soldiers, and excellent soldiers, 16,000 youths who were a burden to themselves and to their village; *je n'ai jamais été mieux inspiré.*

He talked of the claims made on him by the creditors of Abbas Pasha, and by his heir, Il-Hami.

Viceroy.—My father was absolute master of Egypt for forty years, and he left to his family only 180,000 purses (£900,000). Abbas reigned for only four years and a-half, and his family claim from me at least as much, and I had 360,000 purses (£1,800,000) of his debts to pay—debts for arrears of salaries, for supplies, for

work and materials on the railway, and, above all, for wages due to the people who worked on his palaces, not one of which is mine. If he had lived a few months longer this palace would have gone. He had already begun to pull it down, and I should not have had a place to put my head into in Cairo. I have already paid 210,000 purses (£1,050,000) of those debts, so that I have only 150,000 purses (£750,000) left to pay. How Abbas got through his money is a mystery. People say that it was in building; but as he stole the materials of his palaces, and did not pay those who put them together, they ought not to have cost him much.

M. de Lesseps asked if there were any further news of the Bedouins.

Viceroy.—None of any importance. The Oulad Ali have been buying gunpowder in Alexandria. That does not frighten me. I shall always have more powder than they. My father very much exaggerated the strength of the Bedouins. He thought it necessary to humour them in order to keep the peace of the Desert. I shall not follow his example. I am resolved that all my people shall bear the same burdens and

perform the same services. I will not pet one class—Sheykh, Bedouin, Copt, Cairene, or Fellah—at the expense of the others. All shall be equal. When you come to Egypt next year you will find all this Bedouin affair over. They cannot live without the markets of the Valley and of the Delta. After a year in the desert those who are alive will come back as tame as lambs, and if they do not I shall have my Dromedary Corps. Come next year, *et vous verrez des choses.* I am only eighteen months old as yet, and I am ill; I am cutting my teeth; you know, Clot Bey, that you cannot judge then what a child will turn out. Next year I shall be a very different fellow, my teeth will have grown, and they will be sharp. I said to Ruyssenaer yesterday, I am no diplomat. I will tell you *le fonds de ma pensée*—a man has only two things to think of: first, himself; secondly, his children. I have only one child, *et c'est un tout petit marmot.* I may never have another; he may not live, and after all he will not inherit my power; he will have nothing but the little property that I can leave to him.

As for myself, I govern Egypt, but it is only for my life. You know to whom I have to leave it; you know whether I like him or not. Tell me,

M. de Lesseps, tell me frankly, though you are a diplomat, whether I have any reason to like him?

Lesseps was silent. He did not even bow.

Viceroy.—Well, I govern Egypt; *je suis bon enfant; on peut tout avec moi par de bons procédés. Mais si l'on me traite avec orgueil, ils verront de quoi je suis capable.* I will turn Egypt into a desert or a jungle; I will throw the Barrage and the temples, and the villages and the towns, into the Nile. If they want a Nile they shall have to dig a new one. I will fill the canals and tear up the embankments and the dykes. It shall take 300 years to make Egypt again habitable.

We left the Palace at about six.

Monday, February 11.—We went this morning to Stephan Bey's to witness the christening of his child. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Cairo performed the ceremony in the drawing-room. It is much longer than the English service. I asked Stephan Bey to whom the Pasha alluded when he burst out yesterday against those who might treat him with *orgueil?*

Stephan.—It must have been the Sultan, since his

threat was to ruin Egypt, and such a threat could be directed only against the Sultan, the suzerain of Egypt.

I know that much that is offensive to him has been said and done lately at Constantinople; attempts have been made to excite dissension among the descendants of Mehemet Ali. Extravagant claims have been supported. The opposition to the Suez Canal irritates him. He fancies that the Turks oppose it as an Egyptian scheme, and that the English oppose it as a French scheme. He thinks that while he pays his tribute he ought to be *maître chez soi*. Altogether he is out of temper.

Senior.—Is it true that Abbas left 360,000 purses of debt, and that Said has paid 210,000 of them, and has 150,000 still to pay?

Stephen.—It is perfectly true; this is what keeps him poor.

I walked with Mr. Bruce and Hekekyan to the highest point of the Mokattam, overlooking the Citadel, the city, the Pyramids, the desert, the Delta, and the Nile. The air was delicious. The view, when one takes into account its beauty, its variety, its strangeness,

and its associations, is perhaps the most striking in the world; far superior to that from the Citadel: first, because the Citadel, itself a grand and picturesque object, forms a part of the foreground; and secondly, because the Mokattam is twice as high as the Citadel, and therefore commands a much more extensive prospect. We could trace the Nile for at least thirty miles, and could compare Upper Egypt with the Delta, and both with the Desert. The Delta opened to the north like a fan, spreading out in an interminable plain of the brightest possible green. Upper Egypt was a strip of blue between two narrow lines of green: on each side of these lines stretched the endless yellow desert.

The Pasha's allocution to us yesterday was so little confidential, or rather was so obviously spoken as a warning—as a threat which he wished to be published—that I thought myself justified in talking of it.

Hekekyan.—I do not think the buying powder by the Oulad Ali unimportant. They are a powerful tribe: it is said that they can bring 30,000 horsemen into the field, and 100,000 would be enough to ravage the whole left bank of the Nile. I do not see what, unless it be the difficulty of crossing the river, is to

prevent their making a dash at Cairo. We have nothing to oppose to them. I know that they complain that they have not been recompensed for the losses which they suffered as Said's friends from the tribes of Upper Egypt. Besides, there is a national feeling among all Bedouins, which must have been insulted by the outrages inflicted on Bedouin women. They must be aware also that their turn will come next, as Said will allow no one to escape taxation or conscription. Many of the Fellahs, too, have Bedouin blood, and are proud of it, and will sympathise with them. I am not sure that the things which you will see next year will be pleasant.

Bruce.—Ruyssenaer has mentioned to me speeches of the Pasha's in the same spirit with that of yesterday. He is violent and rash, and is not unlikely, if pushed, to resort to desperate expedients.

Hekekyan.—My inference is that he is thoroughly frightened, and that he blusters to conceal his terror. There are people about him whose interest it is to excite and to keep up his fears. I believe that they have heated and moistened and tempered him till he is wax in their hands. Their ultimate aim, of course, is to get money from him; and I do not blame them. No one

who belongs to a civilised country will live in Egypt for any other purpose. What I blame them for is, not the object to which they direct their influence, but the means by which they obtain it. I can forgive a man for wishing to get £20,000 from the Pasha; I cannot forgive him for trying to get it by working on the vanity, the irritability, the fears, and the resentments of the Pasha, and thereby driving him to conduct which may raise a quarrel between Egypt and Turkey, and —what would be the worst of calamities—between England and France. Similar influences, I fear, are at work at Constantinople. To counteract them will require not only intelligence, but moderation in your diplomatists.

Tuesday, February 12.—I met at Mr. Bruce's Captain Jenisée, a French officer employed as an instructor of the Pasha's engineers.

He laid down the pontoon bridges on the Nile which our cavalry crossed when they passed through Egypt last year from India.

He was almost violent in his complaints of the Turkish officers.

Jenisée.—My Colonel of Engineers was a handsome

lad whom Abbas found a corporal, and made a colonel for his good looks. He knew nothing, and wished to know nothing.

When we were laying down the bridge which was a *pont de conversion*, at first it did not act, and I found that from ignorance, or perhaps from jealousy and a wish that a thing done under my superintendence might fail, he had not fixed the cable; but he is not worse than the others. The men are good, and if I were allowed to take my officers from them I could make excellent regiments, but I would not let in a single Turk; they should all be Fellahs.

Senior.—Do you prefer the Fellahs to the Turks as privates?

Jenisée.—They are more intelligent and more docile. But the Turk is good while he is a private. The instant you make him an officer he employs his increased pay sensually; he becomes debauched and insolent, and, as he has no feelings of honour, he loses even his courage.

Bruce.—Poor Butler and Nasmyth had experience of that at Silistria. The Turkish officers were always anxious to give up the Aboo Taleb, which was the key of the town; it was only the men who kept it. On

one occasion they had to pull the Turkish colonel out of a hiding hole, and kick him to the outworks.

Senior.—Of what use was he there?

Bruce.—He was wanted to give the orders in Turkish, which the Englishmen could not speak.

Jenisée.—I have an intimate friend serving with the Turks at Constantinople; *nous avons porté le sac ensemble.* He writes to me of the Turks *there* with as much disgust as I feel towards those who are *here.* He sees men in higher command than those whom I come across. He says that they are totally incapable of moving troops, or of providing for them, or of handling them in action.

Senior.—And yet the Turks 200 years ago were a great military power.

Jenisée.—They must have gone back, then, as much as we have advanced. The general system of corruption, the absence of instruction, and their inveterate system of placing men in the highest posts without the slightest regard to their qualifications, except the qualification of having the power and the will to bribe, will account for anything.

Senior.—I hear that the Pasha has dismissed all his engineers.

Jenisée.—He has; he has nothing left but infantry, cavalry, and artillery. I suppose that in time he will get rid of his infantry and artillery, and return to the old system of the Mamelukes—an Arab army of cavalry.

Wednesday, February 13.—Bruce and Gisborne saw the Pasha yesterday on the matter of the telegraph; he called in Lesseps, and with his assistance the whole matter was disposed of in a manner perfectly satisfactory, in a couple of hours. Nothing, they say, could be more friendly or more intelligent than Lesseps' management of the affair, or fairer or more liberal than the Pasha.

Stephan Bey, through whose office the papers must pass, told me that if the day after to-morrow were not Friday he could let Gisborne have them that day. As it is, they will not be ready before Saturday. I do not think that we could pass an important paper through the public offices in that time in England.

The form of the concession will be an order supposed to be delivered verbally by the Pasha, and recorded by Stephan Bey.

I went with Masara, the Dragoman of the Consulate,

to look at his collection of antiques, and bought a few scarabœi and seals. He talked of the administration of criminal justice.

Masara.—It is too lenient, and too severe. Anything personally offensive to the Pasha, such as the substitution of a Fellah for a Sheykh's son, is punished cruelly, but a robber escapes. Technical evidence is required. There are no witnesses, or they are afraid to come forward, or they are bought off; the criminal will not confess, and he is let loose. Formerly he was *forced* to confess; a few blows of the korbág refreshed his memory and produced the stolen property. I remember being engaged for a Sardinian doctor under British protection. He accused his servant of having stolen twenty guineas from him. The man denied it. As the law is now administered there would have been no more to be said—the doctor must have put up with his loss; but I ordered the lad fifty blows. I did not order him more, because he was weakly, and I was sure that before the twentieth he would confess; but I assured him that unless he confessed he should have 500; at about the tenth he asked for mercy, confessed the theft, and told us where to find the money.

Of course from time to time the wrong man was

beaten, but he probably deserved it for something else.

Wednesday, February 13.—I had a long talk with Mr. Bruce this morning on the old subject of the Suez Canal.

Bruce.—I deeply regret that this scheme has been proposed. I think it very doubtful whether the Navigable Canal will be—indeed, can be—made or kept up; and, even if it be practicable, we do not find any general wish for it.

It is not, like the cutting through the Isthmus of Darien, demanded by the commercial world; and for an object perhaps unattainable, and if attained perhaps of no great utility, the peace of the world is perilled. For any question on which Constantinople and Egypt, and France and England, take opposite views endangers the peace of the world.

Senior.—These may be called extrinsic objections; what are your intrinsic objections, supposing the Canals to be practicable, and supposing that England and Constantinople withdraw their opposition?

Bruce.—My objection to the Navigable Canal is this:—

For both commercial and military purposes we are nearer to India than any European nation except Portugal and Spain, which are nothing; when the Canal is open all the coasts of the Mediterranean, indeed all the coasts of the Black Sea, will be nearer to India than we are.

We know that the first proposer of the Canal was Napoleon, and that he proposed it for the purpose of injuring England. At present India is unattackable. It will be no longer so when Bombay is only 2300 leagues from Marseilles.

It is said that we also shall be able to send troops through the Canal. But our present position of perfect safety from attack is of course far better than that of the posesssion of the amplest means of defence.

Senior.—Now for the Fresh-water Canal.

Bruce.—The only objection to the Fresh-water Canal is the interest which it will give to a European company in the soil of Egypt.

In these semibarbarous despotisms the possessor of land is always oppressed. As long as he is a native it is no concern of ours. But when a European is robbed his country takes up his cause, and the weakness, and folly, and corruption of the local Government make the

controversy end in a quarrel. And then, as in Mr. Finlay's case, a British fleet comes to plead for one party, and perhaps a French one for the other. What is the source of this Russian War but a dispute between two sets of wretched European monks as to the rights of their convents?

Again, the 60,000 or 100,000 acres of which the Company, in breach of a fundamental law of the Ottoman Empire, is to have the property, or at least the management, even if they occasion no disputes, will give them considerable political power.

We should not like to let a foreign company own the whole of an English county, and this, relatively, is quite as large a portion of the soil of Egypt. We know, I will not say the designs of France on Egypt, but at least her desires.

The answer that is made is that the Company is to be open to all the world, that Englishmen may have as many shares in it as they please, and that there is no reason to suppose that the political influence of so heterogeneous a society will be exercised in favour of one nation more than of another. But if Englishmen may have as many shares in it as they please, so may Frenchmen.

So may the one Frenchman who now disposes of all the revenue of France. If a political purpose is to be answered he may buy up, at twice its value, the whole stock of the Company. As the Company is now constituted, I see no answer to this objection.

What adds to its force in my mind is the slight connection there is between the cutting a Canal through the Isthmus of Suez, and the ownership by the Company that cuts it of a tract of land in the Valley of Timsah and on the Lake of Timsah. If the Fresh-water Canal be a good thing, why does not the Pasha cut it himself? In fact, he does cut it himself; he supplies the labour, and I understand that he has contracted to do the work and to be paid in shares in the Company. Let him make and keep his own Fresh-water Canal, which is a matter as to which he is absolute master; which requires no company, no firman, and, if it is so good an investment as we are told, will pay him admirably. He is very rich; he is indeed richer than any European private individual or even sovereign. How can he invest better his superfluous weath than in fertilising his country, improving his revenue, and taking away—or, to speak more properly, abstaining from creating—a matter of dispute in Europe?

Senior.—Admitting, for the sake of the argument, the force of your objections to the Navigable Canal, it seems to me that our opposition to it is unwise.

If it be impracticable, our opposition is obviously unnecessary; if it be practicable I believe that our opposition will be ineffectual. It will be impossible for one nation, on selfish motives of its own, to shut against Europe the best communication with India and China. We are acting an individual and unpopular part uselessly.

Bruce.—I quite agree with you; I believe that this, like many other parts of our oriental policy, is a mistake; our indiscriminate opposition to the scheme as a whole will be fruitless, and it deprives us of the power of altering and modifying it so as to render it less objectionable; our rejection of the whole on grounds as to which no one will sympathise with us deprives us of any voice in the arrangement of its details.

If we entered into the discussion frankly and candidly, with a wish to reconcile the interests of England with those of the Continent, we might be met in the same spirit, and means might be found, not perhaps to render the Canal desirable, but to render it less injurious to us.

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Senior.—Have you ever considered what those means ought to be?

Bruce.—Not deeply; I have not worked the subject out, but one or two are obvious. In the first place we might neutralise the Canal; we might prevent its being passed through by armed vessels or by troops; I would give up the advantage of a shorter military communication with India in order to prevent anybody else from having one.

Senior.—I should be inclined to neutralise all Egypt; to put it under the protection of the European powers, and to make any attempt to appropriate it by any single power a breach of the public law of Europe.

Bruce.—Then I would require the two projects, which are not necessarily connected, to be separated, and let the Pasha himself make the Fresh-water Canal and be the owner of the lands which it fertilises.

Senior.—But the Navigable Canal is a commercial speculation. It is undertaken for the purpose of affording dividends to its shareholders.

The projectors look to the ownership of the 100,000 acres that the Fresh-water Canal is to fertilise as one of the most abundant and one of the most certain sources

of dividends. They expect, indeed, their value to pay the expenses of the whole undertaking.

Bruce.—Then let them be sold; land sells well in Egypt. The Fresh-water Canal is to be the thing first made. The price of these lands may be used in paying the expenses of cutting the Navigable Canal instead of making calls. Or the Pasha, if (as I think will be the best plan) he makes himself the Fresh-water Canal and keeps the lands, may make it up to the Company by remitting to them his fifteen per cent. on the profits of the Navigable Canal, or by executing for them a portion of their works. There being certain things to be done and a profit to be obtained, there cannot be any real difficulty in dividing and apportioning the work and the remuneration.

Thursday, February 14.—I walked with Hekekyan to the Gebel-el-Ahmar, or Red Mountain, a spur from the Mokattam, formed principally of red brescia, which runs northerly through the desert till it overhangs the Abbasseeyeh. It contains stone of great value for mill-stones. In Mehemet Ali's time, being a Government monopoly, it was little worked; but Said has thrown it open to the public; and we found groups of quarrymen

in its recesses. It was evening when we left it, and the paths through the ravines and over the crests of the hills were covered by files of camels and men in blue flowing dresses on their return to Cairo.

The view from the top is extensive, and consists of objects which, familiar as I am with them, I never see without new pleasure—the Delta, the desert, the town, the Pyramids, and the Nile.

We talked of the Canal.

Hekekyan.—Assuming the Canal to be constructed and to be kept open, I do not think that it can injure you militarily or commercially. Your naval superiority secures you against any hostile use of it, and your commercial superiority will make you the greatest gainers by it. England need not fear the competition of Greeks or Austrians or Spaniards or Italians, or even French. But as to the Fresh-water Canal, which I believe to be practicable and useful, I am anxious, as an Egyptian, that it be made, and that it be made and owned by the Company, and not by the Pasha.

The calamity of Egypt, as of every barbarous despotism, is insecurity. Nothing that I or any other Egyptian possesses is really mine. I have a house: the Pasha can take it from me. I have a village—its taxes

now amount to 50,000 piastres a year: he may raise them to 80,000 or to 100,000; he may require it to furnish him with camels, oxen, or corn; he may take all its able-bodied men as recruits; he may take all its inhabitants—men, women and children—and send them to dig a canal in the desert; when he has rendered it incapable of paying its taxes he may seize it for arrears, and grant it to one of his friends. No property, no rank, no institution is stable, except the few that enjoy European protection.

Now a European company, especially a company which will include subjects of all the great powers, cannot safely be oppressed. The Company will be something firm in this quicksand; something free in this servitude. It will be interested in the prosperity, and therefore in the good government, of the country. It will see what is going on, it will publish it in Europe, it will create a public opinion there on our affairs which will react on Egypt.

The improved civilisation of Egypt has been attributed to Mehemet Ali; it is due to him, but only indirectly. It is due to him only as the promoter of the Transit; it is to the Transit, and to the example and to the influence of the Europeans whom it attracted, that

we owe the movement and the activity which you see in Cairo and Alexandria. It is the Transit that has made the desert safe. Twenty-five years ago you and I could not have ventured on this walk. It was prudent to carry arms even in the Esbekeeyeh.

I remember going with Shereef Pasha to look at the petrified forest six miles from Cairo; we took with us a hundred cavalry. This Shoobra Road, now full of camels laden with vegetables and fruit for Cairo, was a dangerous path—Mehemet Ali built a fort near the gates of the town to command it, and never went from the Citadel to his palace at Shoobra without a regiment of guards. Instead of the country houses which are now dotted over all the neighbourhood of Cairo, there were fields and walled villages. The Bedouins then lived by plunder; they now live by letting out their camels and themselves to do the work of the Transit. Were the Transit interrupted, the very next day the desert would be unsafe; it would be necessary to rebuild the gates of Cairo, and to garrison its walls. All these country houses would be abandoned. The improvement which the Transit began I trust that the Company will carry out.

I hope that you do not intend to let the present

relations of Egypt to Turkey continue unaltered; they are full of mischief to both countries, and of danger to Europe.

Each sovereign is the bitter enemy of the other; each is always striving to weaken and to injure his enemy. The Sultan wishes to see Egypt fall back into an ordinary pashalic—the Pasha wishes to see Turkey so weak and degraded that he can safely throw off its sovereignty. The Sultan attacks the Pasha by opposing all his useful measures, and by intriguing against him with the other members of the viceregal family.

The Pasha, with his enormous command of money, bribes the ministers and generals of the Sultan in order to prevent reform, and to produce maladministration. There is only one subject on which they are agreed—the desire to break the alliance between England and France. While that continues they are in fetters. But if it be broken, each, with the sanguineness that belongs to barbarians, thinks that he and his ally will be superior to the other. The Pasha expects France to free him from the control of Constantinople. The Sultan believes that England will replace Egypt under his yoke.

Sooner or later the Sultan and the Pasha will come to an open rupture. France will support the Pasha. The letter of the law will be in favour of the Sultan. You will support *him:* the affair may begin as that of 1840 did, but it will not end so, unless you have again a French Government which resolves on *la paix à tout prix.* On the other hand, if you separate the countries —if you preserve to the Sultan his tribute, but nothing more—each, free from the mischievous action of the other, will be forced by the influence of Europe to improve itself. Detestable as Turkish rule is, the example of this country shows that some of its vices, though they cannot be eradicated, may be palliated.

On one matter I feel as certain as it is possible to be be on any political question—that you cannot improve Egypt through Turkey. You would do only harm at Cairo by tanzimats issued at Constantinople. Everything that comes thence is received, and justly, with dread, and even with aversion.

I need not tell you what are the feelings of the Viceroy towards his suzerain; you have heard them from his own mouth. If you wish to prevent his adopting any measure, let it be commanded or recommended or suggested by the Sultan.

Friday, February 15.—I called on Ayrton Bey, and asked from him information on an intricate subject, the laws relating to the tenure of land in Egypt.

Ayrton.—I must begin by saying that in Egypt there is no law on that or on any other subject; all is caprice, confusion and contradiction. But I will tell you what I have learned by some years' employment in the service of Abbas and Il-Hami. You may begin by choosing one of three theories:—

1. That all the land of Egypt belongs to God.
2. That it all belongs to the Sultan.
3. That it all belongs to the Pasha.

The result of each is the same, namely, that none of it belongs to any Egyptian.

Still, there is a claim to occupation, though not to ownership. This claim is acquired by prescription, and by sale or inheritance from those entitled by prescription.

Another claim to occupation is obtained by grant from the Government. The Government is enabled to grant the occupation of land:—

1. When the occupier dies without children.
2. When land is left unoccupied, the occupier having abandoned it to escape from the conscription,

or from forced labour, or from payment of taxes, or because the canals have been neglected, and it is no longer irrigated.

3. When the taxes are unpaid. Land granted by the Government under the first of these circumstances, namely, when it has escheated for want of heirs, is called *riska.* Land granted under the second of these circumstances, namely, when it has been abandoned, is termed *abadeeyeh.*

When it has been long abandoned, and requires much expense to restore it to cultivation, it is granted free from taxes for the first ten years.

Land confiscated for non-payment of taxes, and re-granted, is termed *urdha;* or rather, the grantee, who becomes liable to pay the arrears and future taxes, is called the *Urdha,* or surety. If he becomes *Urdha* for a considerable number of villages he is called an *Omda.*

Mehemet Ali, whose exactions of money, of men, and of produce created large tracts of abadeeyeh and urdha, used to require his ministers and generals to become Omdas for villages, and almost for districts; sometimes for the purpose of rewarding them, and sometimes—when the arrear was greater than the value of the village—of oppressing them. Abbas followed the same

practice; the best villages he gave to his son Il-Hami. Grants of this kind form the great territorial fortunes which exist in Egypt, such as that of Shereef Pasha, of Ahmed Tahir Pasha, and of the children and grandchildren of Mehemet Ali. Said, however, is destroying those fortunes. He has resumed seventy villages from Il-Hami.

The owner of a village has an account current with the villagers. They work for him at a fixed price, which is paid to them, not in money, but by the permission to cultivate for themselves a bit of land. It is the Con Acre system of Ireland. The rent is set against the labour; when a village is resumed the Urdha has to settle all these accounts.

Such a resumption is considered by the villagers, by the Nazirs, or village governors, by the Kadis, and by the Mudeers, or provincial governors, as evidence that the Urdha is out of favour, and may be plundered with impunity. Old claims are raked up against him, new ones are forged; his crops are destroyed, his cattle are stolen; he becomes, in the language of the Arabs, "a thing to be eaten." Besides the loss of his villages, I believe that Il-Hami will be robbed on their resumption of at least £200,000 in money.

Senior.—What proportion of the produce has the Government a right to take as land-tax?

Ayrton.—Do not talk about *right* in Egypt; the meaning of the word is not known.

Senior.—What, proportion, then, is it *customary* to take?

Ayrton.—There is not much more of custom than there is of right. It was supposed to depend on the height of the Nile: different proportions were to be taken for a high, for a moderate, and for a low Nile. This had the advantage of interesting the Government in the cleaning of the canals.

Mehemet Ali made an average, and professed always to take about the same proportion. Since his death, and still more since that of Abbas, the canals have been more and more neglected, and the abadeeyeh is growing. The Mudeers, too, are less watched, and have become more arbitrary and rapacious.

What can be expected from a Kurd, who cannot read, who has never before left his tent; or from a Georgian mountaineer, brought to Egypt to be a governor because he has no connections and no ties there—because he is fitted by nature and by barbarism to be a blind instrument; or from a slave boy bought

in Constantinople, and educated in the courts and passages of the hareem, and suddenly intrusted with absolute power?

After I left Ayrton Bey I met Hekekyan, and we walked together towards a Bedouin village in the desert below the Red Mountain. It is one where some Turks were roughly treated a few days ago. "You will see," said Hekekyan," "how civil they will be to us, as Europeans."

I mentioned to him the failure of my attempt to ascertain the proportion taken by the Government of the produce of the land.

Hekekyan.—I have been talking over that matter with a friend who is a considerable landed proprietor. He knows no more than Ayrton does on what principle the Government regulates its demands. They vary from year to year, but on an average—taking in every exaction: the money, the supplies in kind, the requisition of camels, horses and asses—they amount annually, according to his computation, to one half of the gross produce.

Senior.—The Government then is really the landlord of Egypt, for half the gross produce is an enormous rent.

Hekekyan.—But that is not all: every inhabitant of a village is surety for every other. My taxes may have been fully paid, but if my neighbour's are in arrear the Nazir comes on me. If I plead poverty he bastinadoes me to ascertain the truth of the plea. If he can get nothing out of me by fear or by blows he seizes my land—nay, one village may be seized for the debt due from another.

What is called government in Egypt, or in any Mussulman country, is one vast system of robbery; our only advantage over Turkey is that our robbers are a little more under the influence of European opinion.

Senior.—And yet you venture to be an occupier of land.

Hekekyan.—It is true that I have had for four years about 200 acres of abadeeyeh land, and as yet I have been asked for no taxes. I had about £1500 to lay out. I might have lent it at ten or fifteen per cent., but I should have had to look after my debtors, and perhaps to press miserable wretches for payment. I might have bought diamonds, and put them into a box, and that box into another, and that into a third, and have covered it over with old clothes, and kept it sometimes in one room, sometimes in another. But I was then in office,

and thought myself tolerably safe from the Mudeers; and by investing my £1500 in bringing back this abadeeyeh into cultivation, I obtain a clear rent or interest of £100 a year.

Have you heard how I lost my office?

Senior.—I have heard that you alarmed Abbas by asking for returns as to the area and population of towns.

Hekekyan.—That was one crime, but I committed others. I was at the head of the Sanitary Department: many deaths by typhus were reported from Geezeh, a place usually healthy; the Nazir explained it by telling me that several hundreds of his people were at work on Abbas' palace at Cairo, badly lodged and badly fed; that they became ill, and were sent home to die at Geezeh. I called the attention of the governor of Cairo to this, and thereby gave great offence.

But I did worse. Cholera then prevailed in Syria, and we had a quarantine law which, absurd as such laws are, it was my duty to enforce. I found that it was broken by persons who entered Egypt surreptitiously by the desert. I stopped some of them; it turned out that they were Abbas' couriers, who were bringing to him secret information—or what he took

for information—from his agents in Bagdad, and Bussorah, and Acre, and Aleppo. Thereupon I was put upon quarter-pay.

There is nothing as to which an oriental sovereign is so jealous as his secret correspondence. He trusts to nothing else. He believes, and perhaps he is not far wrong, that all his ministers are rogues, and that all that they tell him is false; but he trusts implicitly any rascal, provided he be a spy. I was once at Shoobra with Mehemet Ali, when an old, shabbily-dressed, way-worn man brought a letter which he said that he must deliver into the Viceroy's own hands. Mehemet Ali took it, and retired into the hareem to read it or get it read to him. Half an hour after a stone was tied round the messenger's neck, and he was thrown into the Nile.

Senior.—Did you see it done?

Hekekyan.—I did not actually see the splash, but I heard of it immediately afterwards. It was notorious throughout the palace; and in the evening the thing was alluded to before me in Mehemet Ali's presence, and a leathern purse found on the messenger was handed round, to me among others, to see if we could find any paper among its folds. It excited no surprise;

every one inferred, as I did, that it had been thought expedient to drown the messenger, in order to keep secret the correspondence. It is a common Turkish precaution.

We passed a large house, and I asked to whom it belonged.

Hekekyan.—To Abdo Pasha, the late Minister of Public Instruction. He is a Turk, and when he first came to Cairo swept the streets; he afterwards got into the police force. He was on duty before one of the military schools, and became well acquainted with the boys there. He was serviceable to Abbas, who rewarded him by making him Minister of Public Instruction. Said put him on quarter-pay, but he made his fortune, as a minister always can do, during the three or four years that he was in office.

Senior.—Tell me the origin of some other of your great men. What was Zulficar Pasha?

Hekekyan.—A Christian boy, stolen by Ibrahim Pasha in the Morea, and bred as a slave.

Senior.—What was Hassan Pasha, the late Governor of Cairo?

Hekekyan.—A slave.

Senior.—What was Houssein Pasha, who was dismissed for refusing to kill the Bedouins to whom he had granted quarter?

Hekekyan.—A slave.

Senior.—What was Menecle Pasha, who has just returned from commanding the Egyptian forces at Eupatoria?

Hekekyan.—He was not a slave. He is a Turk; he was born in a village in Asia Minor, and fled from it for having killed a man; he entered the service of Mohammed Bey, Mehemet Ali's son-in-law, and rose to the dignity of Pipe-filler. He was a handsome lad, attracted the notice of Mehemet Ali, when he visited Mohammed Bey, was placed by him in the army, and was promoted, as a handsome Turk usually is.

Senior.—What was Mahmoud Pasha, the Minister of Finance?

Hekekyan.—A slave. He is an excellent man, one of their very best.

Senior.—What was Heyreddeen Pasha, the Minister of Police, whom I see so often drinking in the coffee-room of our hotel?

Hekekyan.—A slave. In fact, Stephan Bey and Edhem Pasha are the only ministers that occur to me

who have not been slaves—and I doubt their continuance in power. The *Liberti* will intrigue against the *Ingenui*, and drive them out.

The Bedouin village which was the object of our walk consists of about twenty little clusters of mud huts and black camel-hair tents, dotted over about twenty acres of desert. At the door of one of their tents, or rather at its side—for it was in fact an open camel-hair shed, with a little partition separating the men's side from the women's—we found the Sheykhs of the village assembled over their pipes and coffee.

About twenty camels were crouching near them, placidly chewing the cud. They begged us to enter their tent; we preferred remaining in the open air, seated on a camel's pack-saddle, but we accepted their pipes and coffee, which were excellent. Their manners were, as is always the case with the tribes of the desert, exceedingly good—dignified and cordial. They told us that they earned their living in the Transit service, and by guarding the neighbouring properties. We inquired if they had any news from their brethren on the other side of the Nile. They said "none," but Hekekyan disbelieved them.

I asked if they would furnish labourers if the Pasha required them?

"No," they answered, "we are not Fellahs. We do not use the hoe."

Would they furnish recruits?

"No," they replied; "our children are not camels; the Pasha shall not have them."

They pressed me to mount a dromedary to return to Cairo, and were obviously pleased with our visit. If we had been dressed as Turks, Hekekyan said, they would have been surly, perhaps have ill-treated us.

Saturday, February 16.—I woke yesterday morning with a feeling in one of my eyes as if a grain of sand were under the upper eyelid. It was disagreeable, but not painful until, about two o'clock, I went out into the sun; the irritation instantly became severe. I returned home, and dropped into the eye sulphate of zinc, and continued the application, following it after about an hour by cold water, during the evening.

This morning the pain has left me, but the eye is still weak. I have stayed at home all day.

Sunday, February 17.—The eye has recovered.

We have all of us—Mrs. Senior, the two servants, and myself—had slight affections of the eyes; but the early application of sulphate of zinc has removed them. Our sitting-room is very light, having four windows looking east and south, so that we have about eight hours of sun, and the sun in Cairo is never clouded. I am told that this long exposure to the sun is better for the eyes than a darker room would be. The transition from a dark room to the open sunshine is supposed to be one of the causes of ophthalmia.

Thursday, February 21.—The following letter from Mr. Gisborne to Lord Canning contains a concise statement of the conclusion of the negotiation respecting the Electric Telegraph.

I told Gisborne that he would have no difficulty on a point on which he feared much—the right to occupy land; and in fact he has got more than he wished for. The explanation is that the Viceroy expects opposition at Constantinople to the grant which he wishes to make of land to the Canal Company. He eagerly seized this opportunity of creating a precedent for such a grant.

"Alexandria, February 20, 1856.

"My Lord,—Enclosed is a copy of the Concession granted by the Egyptian Government for establishing telegraphic communication through Egypt between the two submarine lines which are respectively to terminate at Alexandria and Suez. Your Lordship will be pleased to find that the through messages to and from India are placed on precisely the same footing as if they traversed British territory. They are exempt from every species of control or supervision on the part of the local Government.

"The Concession is for an unlimited number of wires; it is to last ninety-nine years. The wires are to be laid, maintained, and worked by the Eastern Telegraph Company: all employés to be appointed and paid by the Company. No toll is imposed on through messages; and ownership of land is granted for stations at Alexandria, Suez and Kosseir. Official messages of every government are to be transmitted in their turn, according as they are delivered at the stations, but with priority over private messages. Messages to be delivered to persons in Egypt, or sent by such persons, have to be first given to the Egyptian Telegraph Office.

"Mr. Bruce and I had an interview with the Pasha

on this matter on the 12th instant. He said to me that we should each benefit the other. I handed to him the Concession, which I had drawn up in French. He sent for M. de Lesseps, and commissioned him to examine it. Mr. Bruce, M. de Lesseps, and I then adjourned to an adjoining room: every material provision of my Concession was agreed to; but M. de Lesseps said he should add the above regulation as to messages to be delivered in or to be sent from Egypt. This I opposed; but on being assured that the Pasha was most positive on the point, I asked to have the official messages of all the different consuls excepted. On this exception I asked Mr. Bruce's opinion, as one in which the English Government was interested but the pecuniary interests of the Company were not concerned. Mr. Bruce said that he had the strongest feeling against the Telegraph being made the instrument of political intrigue between Constantinople and Egypt, and did not think it expedient to make the exception which I was contending for. I felt that my duty lay mainly in providing for the secrecy of through messages to and from India, and I yielded the point. Article 7 was accordingly inserted. M. de Lesseps informed Mr. Bruce and me next day that the Pasha had agreed to the Concession. The Viceroy has

shown in the Concession a most enlightened and liberal spirit, and one which I hope will serve as an example to all foreign countries. The Viceroy was confirmed in his enlightened and liberal views by the thorough confidence which he has that whatever Mr. Bruce personally supports is fair and straightforward, and also by his reliance on M. de Lesseps, who used his personal influence to recommend to him my demands. Much is also due to Mr. Nassau Senior, who first interested M. de Lesseps in the matter. The enclosed, though in fact the French original, is certified by the Pasha's private secretary as the correct translation of the Turkish original. The opposition to independent wires and stations was great at Constantinople, where I was nearly three months before I could obtain the Grand Vizier's letter in a form which would even allow the Viceroy to give us such wires and stations. I have also been nearly three months here, but it is only quite lately that I found a favourable opportunity of bringing my propositions forward; they have not been opposed since then. I have the honour to be your Lordship's humble obedient Servant,

(Signed) "F. GISBORNE.

"His Excellency The VISCOUNT CANNING,

"*Governor-General of India, &c., &c.*"

Saturday, February 23.—I called on Linant Bey, and found with him Abderachman Bey.

I begged Abderachman to explain to me the Mussulman theory of predestination; whether it be that God decides from time to time what is to occur, or whether God has predetermined the whole sequence of events from all eternity.

Abderachman.—The latter is the orthodox doctrine.

Senior.—What is the meaning, then, of *Insh Allah* —if God wills?

Abderachman.—It means, if God *has willed.*

Senior.—What is the meaning of *Allah kerim*—God is merciful?

Abderachman.—It means that God *has been* merciful; that knowing from all eternity that you will fall from your horse to-day—or rather, having from all eternity ordained that you shall fall from your horse to-day—He has, in His mercy, from all eternity ordained that you shall not be hurt.

Senior.—Then there can be no prayer to God in the sense of entreaty.

Abderachman.—There cannot be any, and accordingly a Mussulman does not, in that sense of the word, *pray.*

What we call our prayers are mere homages rendered to God.

I said that I had been reading Lane's 'Selections from the Koran,' which profess to contain all its precepts, and that I was surprised to find so few moral or political; that it was all either narrative or doctrinal: the doctrine being very simple, namely, that God is omnipotent and merciful, that He is one; that Mahomet was commisioned by Him to publish this; and that all who deny the unity of God or the mission of Mahomet will be damned; and that all who believe in them and give alms, the only moral duty enjoined, will obtain everlasting happiness.

Abderachman.—The Koran does not amount to much more than that; and it *was* a great revelation when you consider the polytheism of the Arabs, and indeed of the Christians to whom it was given.

But the practical parts of our religion are to be found in our traditions, and in the commentaries on them, which, however, are only partially translated; you will find an excellent *résumé* of them in a work on Mussulman law, published by the French Government.

(Linant Bey starts to-morrow for Suez on the business of the Canals.)

Senior.—I suppose that you begin by the Canal of Irrigation?

Linant.—Certainly, for it is necessary in order to give water to those who dig the other. But we shall not begin it until the Company has been formed and the shares are taken; the two parts of the scheme are mutually dependent.

Senior.—I thought that the Irrigation Canal was a good project by itself; that the expense of making it would be repaid by the value of the land fertilised.

Linant.—I am not so sanguine as to expect that. When the Navigable Canal is in full activity, and the lands reclaimed by the Irrigation Canal are on the line of a great communication, they will be valuable. But the Irrigation Canal, taken by itself—that is, supposing the Navigable Canal not to be dug—would be a ruinous speculation. It is not land that we want, but people to cultivate it.

There are 300,000 acres in the Fayoom of excellent land, uncultivated for want of hands and of capital. We look to the Company for both.

Senior.—You may look to us for capital, but scarcely

for hands. Who will leave Europe to labour in a hot climate? Not the French or the English or the Irish.

Linant.—We hope for Germans.

Senior.—I do not believe that you will get them, or that they will live if you do. You may get, as the French have got in Algeria, a few Spaniards and Maltese, but no other Europeans.

Linant.—We also expect to get Syrians.

Senior.—I thought that the emigration was from Egypt to Syria. There is a celebrated letter of Mehemet Ali's to the Pasha of Acre, in which he threatens to bring from Syria to Egypt 6000 Egyptian emigrants and one man more.

Linant.—That was when Mehemet Ali's *corvées* and conscription made every one who was able to do so fly from Egypt. No one now leaves Egypt but the Turks, who, not being allowed here to oppress Fellahs, go to Syria and Asia Minor in order to oppress Rayahs.

Sunday, February 24.—I walked with Hekekyan in the fields between the Shoobra Avenue, Boolak, and the Nile.

It was a delicious evening, calm and warm without heat. There is no colouring like that of the mornings

and evenings of Egypt—no verdure is so green, no foliage is so deep and so rich, no foregrounds are more picturesque, than these groves and avenues of palms, cypresses and sycamores; no distances are so clear or so bright, and few can embrace finer objects than the Mokattam range, the Citadel, the Nile, and the Pyramids.

We passed through several villages; the first that we came to, just beyond Boolak, consisted of mud huts about four feet high, built on a dyke to avoid the inundation, and leaning on a high garden wall. Their flat roofs were covered with cane trash, and seemed to be the favourite beds of the dogs; each family had two rooms, about eight feet square, with no opening except the entrance, which seldom possessed a door. The villagers were squatting in groups before their huts, the men smoking, the women basking; they were covered with gold and silver ornaments in their ears and round their arms and ankles; even the dirty naked children had necklaces and bracelets of silver or beads. The second village, built by a great proprietor for his own dependents, was far superior to the first. The huts were six feet high and had doors, the rooms were about twelve feet square: one, into which we looked, contained some tin cooking vessels. Farther on we

came to a village of the old times, when the neighbourhood of Cairo was insecure; this was surrounded by a wall, and could have resisted an attack of horsemen. We did not enter it.

I repeated to Hekekyan my last conversation with Linant Bey.

Hekekyan.—I agree with Linant that there are in Egypt many hundred thousand acres of fertile land uncultivated. I agree with him also that they are uncultivated for want of hands and capital; but I differ from him when he thinks it necessary to import either the one or the other; I believe that we have both, and in proportion to our land.

You have been walking for three months and at all times of the day over the neighbourhood of Cairo. What is the proportion of men whom you have seen at work, excluding of course those on forced labour, compared with the number of those whom you have seen basking in the sun?

Senior.—I think that the baskers have been about one-third.

Hekekyan.—Yet this is part of the country in which industry most prevails, because it is best paid; and if one-third of our Fellahs do nothing, it may be inferred

that the two-thirds that do work, work slowly and negligently. I do not believe that half the labour at our command is actually exerted. Linant may say that this is for want of capital. But the Fellahs have been receiving, during the last two years, fabulous prices for all their commodities; not in consequence of bad seasons, for the inundations of 1853 and 1854 were abundant, and the effects of the inferiority of that of 1855 have not yet had time to show themselves. The European demand has tripled all our prices.

The capital in the hands of the proprietors must be greater than ever was known; but it is buried, or, if employed, it is in some portable form, in which it is as useless as if it was buried. No prudent man, especially in the unprotected position of a Fellah, ventures to appear to possess money. It would expose him to be robbed and beaten by a hierarchy of oppressors, beginning with the Sheykh-el-Beled, and ending with the Pasha.

What we want is not land, labour, or capital; we have all the three instruments of production. We want security; we want foreign aid, because, in a country governed by Mussulmans, foreigners alone, and those who are protected by foreigners, enjoy security. We

want the projected Bank of Egypt, to which the Fellah, without the knowledge of the Sheykh or the Nazir, or the Mudeer, may intrust his hoarded capital, to be lent to those who can safely employ it. We want the projected Canal Company, with its 100,000 acres free from the exactions of the local or the superior despot. We do not want its capital, or its Germans, or its Spaniards, or its Maltese, or its Syrians—we want only its protection; all the rest we have of our own.

I know that the consuls hate the system of protection. It gives them infinite trouble, but it is invaluable to the country; those only who are protected can labour and traffic, and save, and act and talk and breathe freely. If the system of protection had not kept alive, in times still worse than these, some small embers of liberty, industry, and activity, Turkey and Egypt would now be in the state of the interior of Morocco. I wish that the consuls would return to their former practice, and sell their protection, and sell it cheaply. The demand would be immense. The first and the most eager purchasers would be Mehemet Ali's descendants. A real aristocracy would be created in Egypt. The Pipe-cleaner of the American Vice-Consul, protected by the stars and stripes, is really an aristocrat. He belongs

to the privileged class; he stands between the Pasha and the people. He has rights; the Prime Minister or the heir to the throne has none.

On our return we crossed several gangs of work-people engaged on the Suez Railway. I begged Hekekyan to interpret to me their songs. They were generally a sort of dialogue :—

Strophe. "We are all in rags; we are all in rags."
Antistrophe. "That the Sheykh may be dressed in cloth."

Another :—

Boys. "They starve us, they starve us,"
Girls. "They beat us, they beat us,"
Boys. "But there's some one above,
There's some one above,"
Girls. "Who will punish them well,
Who will punish them well."

But sometimes a single proposition is repeated. Thus one gang were singing—

"It's time to leave work,
It's time to leave work."

"The day before yesterday," said Hekekyan, "I heard them singing—

"'No work on Friday,
No work on Friday.'

and generally I suspect that the songs are meant to be heard by the people in authority."

This is a new variety of the despotism *tempéré par des chansons.*

Some lads leading a buffalo passed by and asked for backsheesh. Hekekyan told them that they ought to be ashamed of themselves. "We Fellaheen," they answered, "are ashamed of nothing."

We met in the town long lines of carts filled with small carpets on their way to the railway.

"These," he said, "are for the Sheykhs' sons. All the carpets in the bazaars of Cairo and Alexandria have been bought, cut into small squares, and are to be given to the Shyekh regiments. Each man is to have his own prayer-carpet. Said very wisely is courting popularity among them."

In the confusion occasioned by the carts an ass with a woman on it, led by an old man, ran against a police officer. The officer struck the old man as hard as he could repeatedly on his arms and legs with his sabre in a steel scabbard, and must have injured him severely; it attracted no attention in the crowd.

We ended our walk by the Gamah Ibn Tooloon, the most ancient, and I believe the largest, mosque in Cairo. It is a square of 300 feet every way. On three sides runs a lofty double arcade, on the fourth, the eastern,

there are five arcades, forming the place of worship. The great internal quadrangle contains, as usual, a fountain and a grove of palms and sycamores.

The arches are all pointed, with a slight horseshoe inclination where they spring from the piers which support them. This renders the mosque an epoch in the history of pointed architecture, as it was built in the ninth century, and the pointed arch did not appear in Europe till the twelfth.

The Gamah Ibn Tooloon is built of brick and plaster; its beautiful arabesque ornaments therefore are crumbling away; it is wonderful indeed that they should have lasted 1000 years; it has just been converted into a poorhouse; the arcades are tenanted by about 100 families. In a few years the trees will have been destroyed, the fountain will be dry, and all remains of decoration will have perished.

Tuesday, February 26.—Mr. Rushton, an English engineer engaged in completing the railway from Alexandria to Cairo, showed me over the works at Boolak. He tells me that in the Delta railway works cost more than in England, and that in the desert, whither even the water must be carried by the camels,

the cost will be enormous; with this, however, he has nothing to do. The Suez Railway has been put into the hands of a French engineer, who has been for many years in the Pasha's service. He is an able man, but has absolutely no railway experience. When such a man as Stephenson was already in the Pasha's employment this does not seem a wise change.

Rushton complains bitterly of the people with whom he has to do.

Rushton.—The whole Egyptian system is one of corruption. When I want men or camels or carriages I send a requisition to the Government. The Government sends an order to the Mudeers, they send it to the Nazirs, and the Nazirs to the Sheykhs who have to execute it. A village is required, perhaps, to send 100 labourers. It contains 300; all who can bribe the Sheykh are excused; perhaps 250 can afford to do so. In that case only 50 are sent, but the Sheykh gives a part of the spoil to the officer charged with the supply of men to us, and of food to them, and he reports that 100 have been sent, and draws bread for 100. The same plan is adopted with respect to all our supplies. Fictitious men, fictitious camels, fictitious asses—even fictitious wheelbarrows—appear on the records of what

the Government supposes that it has furnished to us. When we are told that 313,000 labourers were employed on the Mahmoodeeyeh Canal, I have no doubt that one third of them were fictitious.

At first we tried to expose the fraud—we inquired how many men, camels, and asses were charged to the Government, and complained that we had not received them. But we found that we were making ourselves unpopular with all the hierarchy of officials, so we no longer attempt to alter the habits of a whole people, but protect ourselves by requiring three times as much as we want of everything.

Senior.—Have you had anything to do with the courts of justice in Cairo?

Rushton.—Sometimes. It is a heart-breaking business: the Kadi, who is at the head of the Civil tribunals, is a Turk—sent annually from Constantinople, not knowing a word of Arabic—who has bought his place and thinks only of repaying himself, who signs, without having looked at the evidence—indeed, without it having been translated to him—whatever decisions his Divan prepares for him. Nothing is obtained except by bribes. The money that is thus extorted from the litigants is thrown into a common fund, in which the

members of the Divan participate, according to their rank, the Kadi getting the largest share. All the evidence is written. The English Court of Chancery is cheap and expeditious when compared to the Kadi's Court in Cairo.

Senior.—What portion of the population have you found the worst?

Rushton.—The Turks: they are the most ignorant, the most stupid, the most insolent, and the most false; next to them in badness are the other foreigners, then the Copts. The Egyptian Mussulmans are the best.

Bruce and Gisborne returned to-day from Alexandria in order to receive the Telegraphic Concession.

Some months ago an English Company proposed to establish a bank in Alexandria and Cairo, to be called the Bank of Egypt; the consent of the Pasha was asked and verbally given, and the Company obtained an English charter by that name. Some of the foreign houses in Egypt, who make large profits by lending at high interest and dealing in exchanges, fear a competitor, wielding a European amount of capital and doing business according to European habits; and they have petitioned the Pasha to withdraw his consent.

Mr. Bruce saw him on the subject a few days ago.

"I thoroughly approve of the new bank," he said to Bruce; "I should like to have as many banks as possible; they will take me and my subjects out of the hands of these grasping Jews and French and Greeks. When they tried to frighten me, I said that I should leave you and Sabbatier *débrouiller l'affaire. Les loups ne mangent pas les loups. Je suis un pauvre petit agneau entre vous deux. Je vous crains tous les deux. Je sais bien que chacun de vous voudrait me croquer.*"

"Your Highness," said Bruce, "is rather in the situation of a man with a very pretty wife surrounded by admirers."

"*Oui,*" he said, "*et elle est jolie, n'est ce pas? aussi je prétends la garder.*"

The result is that the bank goes on, though he rather wishes the name—Bank of Egypt—to be altered.

Bruce.—I think that the company had better have chosen some other name than that of Bank of Egypt. But it is not the Pasha's fault. That name was mentioned in the petition by which they asked his consent. He gave it, probably without having read the petition. His defects are the reverse of those of the ordinary Turkish character: he is too bold, too off-hand,

too self-relying; and what makes those faults more dangerous is his want of experince in affairs. His predecessors called in the assistance of Councils.

Mehemet Ali, with his great talents and his long habits of government, was always surrounded by counsellors. So was Abbas, though he had himself been trained to important business from boyhood. Said, suddenly thrown up from private life into absolute power, attempts to regulate and divert the whole administration of Egypt—its details as well as its principles—from the levying of an army to the time of starting a railway-train, by himself, without ministers and without Councils. We foreigners, indeed, have not to complain. In all matters which affect *us* he is far more liberal, and indeed far more sensible, than any ministers or counsellors are likely to be. He is as good a free-trader as you are. And we escape the horrible corruption which is the pest of all oriental negotiations; we have not to bribe, and we are not opposed by bribes.

We escape, too, the dreadful delays of the East. If Gisborne's telegraph had been brought before a Divan, instead of being settled by the Pasha, they would have been six months shilly-shallying about it, influenced by

all sorts of intrigues, and perhaps would have been incapable of coming to a decision without the aid of a bribe. But in matters as to which Said's theories or his information may happen to be wrong, and still more in those as to which his passions may bias him, he must make dangerous mistakes.

The Pasha's last conversation with me appeared to me at the time to be intended to be made public; I was right. He said to Ruyssenaer, "*J'ai donné à M. Senior une bonne page pour son journal.*"

Mr. and Mrs. Lieder, Hekekyan Bey and his wife, and Mr. Bruce drank tea with us.

It is a remarkable indication of oriental morals that of our four Egyptian guests, two, Mrs. Lieder and Hekekyan, believe themselves to have drunk poisoned coffee; in each case it was detected by its peculiar and extreme bitterness, and not enough taken to do serious mischief. Mrs. Lieder received hers at Nasli Hanem's. Hekekyan's was given to him at Menecle Pasha's. It was in 1840; he was at that time out of favour with Mehemet Ali; his boldness of conversation, and perhaps his boldness of character, partly natural and partly acquired in England, unfit him for Eastern courts.

He has seldom continued long in favour or long in disgrace; his talents, knowledge and industry force him into employment, and some unguarded speech or the performance of some duty offensive to the master, or to his minister, or to his cook, or to his barber, turns him out: when they cannot do without him he is recalled.

Hekekyan.—In 1840, after the bombardment of Acre, some weeks passed without any news from Ibrahim Pasha or from his army in Syria. A strong suspicion arose that he had made his peace with the Sultan at his father's expense, and that Mehemet Ali's reign and life were drawing to a close.

I was then the engineer charged with the defences of the coast. We were expecting an attack from Sir Charles Napier, and I had been to Rosetta to inspect the batteries. It was on a tempestuous night that I returned to Alexandria, and went to the palace on the shore of the former Island of Pharos, to make my report to Mehemet Ali.

The halls and passages, which I used to find full of Mamelukes and officers strutting about in the fulness of their contempt for a Christian, were empty. Without encountering a single attendant I reached his room

overlooking the sea; it was dimly lighted by a few candles of bad Egyptian wax, with enormous untrimmed wicks. Here, at the end of his divan, I found him rolled up in a sort of ball—solitary, motionless, apparently absorbed in thought. The waves were breaking heavily on the mole, and I expected every instant the casements to be blown in. The roar of wind and sea was almost awful, but he did not seem conscious of it.

I stood before him silent. Suddenly he said, as if speaking to himself, "I think that I can trust Ibrahim." Again he was silent for some time, and then desired me to fetch Motus Bey, his admiral. I found him, and brought him to the Viceroy. Neither of them spoke, until the Viceroy, after looking at him steadily for some minutes, said to me, "He is drunk; take him away." I did so, and so ended my visit without making any report.

Senior.—Was Motus drunk?

Hekekyan.—He *was* drunk, as all the naval officers were; they expected to be sent out to fight Napier, and went on drinking to keep up their spirits.

The Viceroy was not pleased at my having witnessed his emotion, or his neglected state; but what completed

my disgrace was my having alluded some months after to the events of that night.

He immediately sent me off to Cairo on a trifling errand about the fortifications of the Citadel, and kept me there for three months.

At the end of that time I received a summons from Menecle Pasha, the man who had just returned from Eupatoria, who was the Minister of War. He placed me by him on his divan, and gave me a pipe, but said nothing. Then came coffee; I just sipped mine, and found it totally unlike anything that I had ever tasted before. It was nauseous and intensely bitter; I gave it back to the servant. Menecle looked hard at me, but said nothing. I sat a few minutes longer, waiting for him to tell me why he had sent for me, and hearing nothing, went away without a word having passed between us. Half an hour after Mehemet Ali arrived from Alexandria at the Citadel.

I cannot but suspect that I had become disagreeable, and that he had directed Menecle to dispose of me before his return to Cairo. It certainly seemed that the only purpose for which Menecle summoned me was that I might drink that cup of coffee.

Senior.—But, if Mehemet Ali wished to remove you,

might he not have had recourse to a more certain expedient?

Hekekyan.—There were objections in my case to the use of the dagger or the cord: I was not then, as I am now, alone; one of my brothers-in-law was his Prime Minister, another was his first interpreter. It would have been inconvenient to part with them, and they certainly would have quitted him.

He wished me to die, but he did not wish to be suspected of having killed me. I believe that it was for the same purpose that he sent me, a few months after, at the beginning of the hot season, to pass months in the southern desert—and I am not sure that he did not take means to increase the dangers of the desert. The only place I halted at was Berenice, on the Red Sea, where I spent a month—time enough for my sojourn there to be known at Cairo. A few days after I had left Berenice a party of armed Bishareeyehs arrived there, inquired anxiously for me, and, finding that I was gone, followed me; luckily I reached Korosko, on the Nile, before them, and in my boat I was safe, for the Bishareeyehs are not aquatic.

Senior.—Are they coarse or scientific poisoners in Egypt?

Lieder.—Scientific; the poisons are vegetable, and are not often intended to produce an immediate result, or even to operate by a single dose. They undermine the health by frequent repetition. The custom of giving coffee to every visitor affords great facilities to what may be called dietetic poisoning. In Europe, unless you live in the same house with a man, it is difficult to poison him unless he dines with you, or, even then, without accomplices. The accomplices cannot easily be obtained, and they would possess a dangerous secret which would make them your masters—you seldom can repeat the dose, it must therefore be violent. The fact of his having dined with you would be easily proved, and his death by poison connected with it. The poisonings of Europe, therefore, are family poisonings.

In Egypt a man may drink coffee in the course of a morning in ten different houses; a single accomplice is all that is necessary—there is no difficulty in prevailing on him to accept the office. It is as natural to him as any other service. He does not think much about it, and is not likely to talk about it. If he does, you poison him, or have him strangled and bury him in your garden; you run little risk by doing so—nothing

that happens in a man's house is known. For most purposes—indeed, for all purposes except opposing the will of the Pasha—a man's house is his castle in Egypt more really than it is in England. The reverence paid to the hareem extends to everything that is under the same roof. The Egyptian thinks himself well recompensed for being a slave abroad by being absolute at home. He would not accept freedom or security for himself if the condition were that it should be extended to his household.

Hekekyan.—In this country the disappearance of an unprotected man is not noticed. If I were to walk out to-morrow and not to return, no one, except Madame Hekekyan, would think about it. She would be alarmed the first night, and more so the second, and on the third she would give me up for lost. But she would infer that I had been removed by the higher powers, and that if she made complaints, or even inquiries, she would share my fate; and in a short time it would be forgotten, at least among the Turks, that Hekekyan Bey had ever existed.

Mr. Lieder says truly that our poisonings are seldom rapid. When the existence of a man has become offensive to the master, he is impoverished, his villages are

resumed, claims against him are countenanced; it is whispered about that it is imprudent to visit him or to receive him; he soon finds himself as alone as if he were in the desert. A Mussulman who has no resources, who neither sports, nor gambles, nor converses, nor reads, nor writes, nor rides, nor walks, nor travels, soon frets and smokes himself into dyspepsia. If he be, what few Mussulmans are, a man of quick sensibility and self-respect, he is also oppressed and irritated by the intolerable feeling of wrong. Then, perhaps, he is suddenly recalled. He is again in favour, he is soon to be again in power; at every visit that he pays to the palace, or to one of the divans, he gets a cup of coffee slightly impregnated; the moral and the physical excitement combine. His death follows an illness which has not been scandalously short.

Lieder.—The remark that orientals are not to be judged according to European notions is so obvious that it has become trite; but on no point is the difference between the two minds more striking than in the respect for life.

The European cares nothing for brute life; he destroys the lower animals without scruple whenever it suits his convenience, his pleasure, or his caprices; he

shoots his favourite horse and his favourite dog as soon as they become too old for service.

The Mussulman preserves the lives of the lower animals solicitously. Though he considers the dog impure, and never makes a friend of him, he thinks it sinful to kill him, and allows the neighbourhood and even the streets of his towns to be infested by packs of masterless dogs, whom we should get rid of in London or Berlin in one day. The beggar does not venture to destroy his vermin—he puts them tenderly on the ground. There are hospitals in Cairo for superannuated cats, where they are fed at the public expense.

But to *human* life he is utterly indifferent; he extinguishes it with much less scruple than that with which we shoot a horse past his work.

Hekekyan.—Abbas when a boy had his pastry-cook bastinadoed to death. Mehemet Ali mildly reproved him for it, as we should correct a child for killing a butterfly. He explained to his little grandson that such things ought not to be done without a motive.

Senior.—When Nasli Hanem burnt her slave to death for giving her cold coffee, did her father interfere?

Hekekyan.—No, he could not; that took place in a

hareem. The murdering the messenger at Shoobra is another instance; it would have cost little to shut up the poor old man until any danger of his telling from whom he came was over; but it was simpler to drown him. Perhaps, however, in that case Mehemet Ali merely followed instructions which he might have thought it dishonourable to disobey. There was probably at the bottom of the letter some mark indicating how the person who brought it was to be disposed of, as we write: "Burn this note as soon as you have read it."

Senior.—That incident is mentioned by Cadulrene and Barrault in their 'History of the East in 1839 and 1840,' and they affirm that the messenger was drowned for having refused to disclose the name of his employer.

Hekekyan.—That is a mistake. I was the only person present when Mehemet Ali received the messenger. He was obviously a man of the lowest class, who would not have refused to disclose anything. Mehemet Ali asked no questions, and indeed had none to ask.

Tuesday, February 28.—Cahil Effendi, the American Vice-Consul, called to take leave of us.

I asked him to describe to me the life of an Egyptian of the higher class.

Cahil.—Up to the age of eight he lives with his mother in the hareem, petted, indulged and uncorrected, and taught nothing, because he is among women who have learned nothing.

At about eight, his father takes possession of him, and gives him a learned education—that is to say, a knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and of a portion of the Koran and of its commentaries—either by sending him for a few hours a day to a school, or by engaging a tutor to visit him at home.

By the time that he is twelve that education is completed. He lives with his father, rides with him, accompanies him, if he is in the public service, to the Divans, becomes gradually acquainted with affairs, public and private, and aquires the precocious calmness and dignity of manner which distinguishes oriental children.

At fifteen he marries a girl of eleven or twelve, but seldom, unless the family be very rich, keeps house; he and his wife live with his father or with her mother. By the time that he is thirty, his wife has become

old; he divorces her, and marries another, and at forty may have had nine or ten wives, but seldom more than one at a time.

Long before he is fifty the charms of the hareem are over, and his life becomes every year blanker and blanker. He has no out-of-door pleasures: he does not shoot, or fish, or hunt, or walk. Even riding has been given up by all those who can afford to use a carriage. He does not write or read; he has little pleasure in society, for Orientals converse little, and, indeed, have little to converse about.

There are no dinner-parties, or balls, or theatres, in our cities. There are no politics to excite interest, except the intrigues of the Divan, and they are not talked of. He prays five times a day; and, as each prayer with its preparatory ablution occupies half an hour, this disposes of two hours and a-half. His meals, short and solitary, occupy at most one hour; he smokes for five hours; he enjoys kieff—that is, repose on a divan without smoking, sleeping or thinking—for three; squats cross-legged for two more in a coffee house, hearing stories, which he already knows by heart, told by a professional story-teller, and gets through the remaining eight and a-half in bed, or rather on his bed,

for he seldom undresses. Three times a week, perhaps, the bath takes the place of the kieff.

How are you to regenerate a people when such are the habits of its aristocracy?

Mr. Lieder called on me in the evening to report the result of our interference on behalf of the Copts; I had once or twice inquired how the matter was going on, and always heard that the Patriarch was preparing his petition. He had promised to show it to Lieder before it went to the Viceroy. It seems, however, that five days ago it was presented without Lieder having seen it. Lieder, I think, suspects that it may have contained passages so abject that the Patriarch was ashamed to expose them to a European eye.

Said is said to read every petition. The greater number he at once rejects, and signifies his displeasure by tearing them. Bruce, however, through Koenig Bey, had prepared him to consider this petition attentively, and to believe that he would gratify the English if he granted it; he read it and laid it beside him on his divan. Three days after it was returned, with a note saying that it was approved. And this morning the Patriarch received an official communication stating

that no more Copt recruits would be taken, and that all those who were not embodied and in actual service would be immediately released.

Those actually embodied are very few; Lieder hopes that they also will be discharged; the Patriarch is overflowing with gratitude, and offers his services to obtain for me any Coptic manuscript.

ALEXANDRIA.

Peninsular and Oriental Hotel, Sunday, March 1. —We left Cairo yesterday morning, having spent there nearly three months instructively, and on the whole agreeably; but it is not a place to which I wish to return.

There is something, indeed there are many things, amusing in the first aspect of a barbarous population; the dress, the customs, and the sounds are strange; but it soon becomes painful to live among beings with whom you cannot sympathise. The servility and degradation of the lower classes, the tyranny and insolence of the higher, and the rapacity and childishness of all, disgusted me more and more every day. The government seemed every day to get worse and worse; not that it really did so, but because I saw more and more of its working. I carried to Egypt strong prejudices against Mahometanism and despotism; four months' experience has convinced me that I undervalued the mischiefs of both.

After we left the neighbourhood of Cairo the Delta lost much of its interest. We soon lost sight of the Mokattam, the Lybian Mountains, and the desert.

The country houses, with their avenues, gardens, and cypresses, gradually disappeared. The palm became the principal tree, but was seldom to be seen except in the neighbourhood of a village. "Trees," say the Fellahs, "attract Bedouins."

The villages, compact and walled, composed generally of mud huts, with a few larger houses, also of mud, built round a court, without external apertures, stood in general naked, with no shelter except a few palms, on the green interminable plain.

We crossed each branch of the Nile, the Rosetta branch at Kafr-ez-Zyat, the Damietta branch at Benha, where we saw the huge factory erected by Abbas for a palace—the scene, according to rumour, of much unrevealed murder.

Besides these two views of the river and the crowded markets of Tantah, where we must have seen 10,000 Arabs, and as many camels and horses, I recollect nothing of our journey except a flat green expanse, reaching on every side to the horizon, which seemed to grow before us as we left it behind. We were always

the centre of a vast circle, like a ship out of sight of land, and with little more change of objects.

The only moving things that rose above the green flat were files of men and camels slowly passing the tops of the dykes. The only fixed ones were villages and palms, each a copy of every other. If I closed my eyes for half an hour, when I reopened them no change showed that we had moved. We had a slow journey, reaching from half-past nine in the morning to eight in the evening, and have good rooms in the Peninsular and Oriental Hotel, the best hotel which I have found in Egypt.

Monday, March 3.—The climate of Alexandria is wonderfully improved since we left it in the middle of last November.

It is cool in the mornings and evenings, and not unpleasantly hot even at noon. Ten months had then passed without rain, and the dust was knee deep; since that time much rain has fallen, and the roads, though dusty, are endurable. I took a very agreeable walk with Mr. Green, our consul, this evening round the fortifications, between the glacis and the sea; he wore a great-coat. "The only change," he said, "that we

make in our clothing is the putting on or leaving off a great-coat. It is never warm enough for thin coats or for summer trowsers."

Tuesday, March 4.—I breakfasted with Mr. Bruce at his charming house, in a large garden, overlooking the Mahmoodeeyeh Canal, and the Lake Mareotis, which is an inland sea.

He showed me the Hatt-i-Humáyoon, or imperial order, issued in Constantinople in February last.

The following are its principal provisions:—

1. Every non-Mussulman community is to appoint a committee which is to draw up a report on its existing franchises, and to propose any alterations which it may think expedient.

2. The ecclesiastical property of every Christian community is inviolable. It is to be managed by an elected committee, partly lay and partly clerical.

3. Full liberty of worship is guaranteed to every religious profession. No one can be forced to change his religion.

4. No legal document shall acknowledge any inferiority of one class of Ottoman subjects to another in consequence of difference in religion, race, or language.

5. All Ottoman subjects, whatever be their nationality, are eligible to every employment.

6. All Ottoman subjects are admissible to the civil and military schools of the Government.

7. Every community may establish schools of every kind; the choice of professors and the course of instruction being under the superintendence of a mixed Council of Public Instruction, to be appointed by the Government.

8. All civil and criminal proceedings between Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans shall be decided by mixed tribunals, in which the discussion shall be public, in the presence of the parties, and the evidence of all witnesess shall be received. Civil proceedings between persons non-Mussulmans may, at the request of the parties, be decided by their own ecclesiastical officers.

9. The laws and the procedure of the mixed tribunals shall be immediately codified and published in all the languages of the Empire.

10. A reformed code of prison discipline shall be immediately drawn up.

11. All torture is radically abolished.

12. The organisation of the police shall be revised and reformed.

13. Non-Mussulmans being now subject to conscription, a law respecting their military duties shall be immediately drawn up. Redemption and substitution shall be admitted.

14. A reform shall be made in the composition of the provincial and commercial councils, so as to secure freedom of election, freedom of vote, and authentification of decisions.

15. All foreigners may possess landed property, obeying the laws and paying the taxes; for this purpose arrangements shall be made with foreign powers.

16. All persons, without distinction of class or religion, shall pay the same taxes. The abuses in the exaction of taxes, particularly of the tithe, shall be reformed. Direct payment into the exchequer shall be substituted for the system of farms.

17. While farms exist they shall be granted publicly to the highest bidder; and official persons, particularly the Medjils, are prohibited from becoming farmers.

18. Local taxation shall be arranged so as not to interfere with production or with internal trade.

19. Provision shall be made out of the public revenue and from local sources for public works, particularly communications by sea and land.

20. The Budget of public receipts and expenditure shall be fixed and published every year.

21. All salaries shall be revised.

22. The chiefs of each religious persuasion and a delegate from each to be appointed by the Government shall take part in the deliberations of the Supreme Council of Justice. They shall be convoked by the Grand Vizier. The delegates shall hold their places for a year; perfect freedom of speech and of vote is guaranteed to them.

23. The laws against corruption shall be applied to all Ottoman subjects, whatever be their religion or race.

24. Banks and similar institutions shall be created as means to reform the monetary and financial systems of the empire, and to create capital and wealth.

25. Roads and canals shall be made; all restrictions on commerce and on agriculture shall be abolished, and the sciences, arts and capitals of Europe made use of for the increase of the wealth of the empire.

26. The Grand Vizier is charged with the publication of this firman, and with its full and punctual execution.

Mr. Saunders, of Alexandria, called on us.

Saunders.—I never experienced so great a change in

a man, even after many years, as a year and a-half of absolute power have produced on Said Pasha. I used to see him frequently, and delighted in his society: he was clever and amusing, and kind and considerate; and clever and amusing he is still, but all the kindness and consideration are gone. I now never go near him if I can avoid it.

I hear that the Frenchmen, such as Pastoret and Brabet, who still frequent him, are exposed to language and violence which I could not endure.

Senior.—He was violent in youth.

Saunders.—You are alluding to the beggar whom he shot when he was with Curling?

Senior.—I thought that it was a ferryman or a claimant.

Saunders.—What I heard was that it was a beggar who followed him, importuning him for alms, and that, after having refused him once or twice, he turned and shot him. Atrocious as the act was, it was not to be judged altogether by European ideas. Life is not valued here as it is with us, by those who take it, or even by those who lose it. If the darkness which covers the hareems could be pierced strange things would be revealed.

Senior.—I hear that two women are missing from Nasli Hanem's hareem.

Saunders.—Nasli has dealt widely in death; her victims here have been among the highest as well as among the lowest.

Senior.—Do you join, then, in the belief that she was accessory to the death of Abbas?

Saunders.—Certainly I do. The two Mamelukes who perpetrated it were bought in Constantinople by Hassan Pasha Tavil. It has been ascertained that they were sold to him by Nasli Hanem. They have not been punished; and Hassan is known to have received 15,000 purses (£75,000) from Abbas for which he gave no receipt, and now gives no account.

Senior.—There are great difficulties in every explanation of this assassination. The ordinary one—that Abbas had threatened them and that they murdered him in self-defence—imputes wonderful rashness to a man who was known to have been timid. The boldest man would scarcely compose himself to sleep under the guard of two men whom he had just threatened, according to one account, with death—according to the other with bastinado.

Wednesday, March 5.—I breakfasted with Artim Bey, for many years Mehemet Ali's Prime Minister. He is a vigorous elderly man, apparently about fifty-five, but I believe rather older.

We talked of the Hatt-i-Humáyoon of last month.

Artim.—What do you suppose to have been the real purpose for which that paper was issued?

Senior.—To please the European ambassadors and the European public.

Artim.—You are right; that was the only purpose. It's professed object, the raising the infidel subjects of the Sultan to a level with the Mussulmans—or, rather, diminishing their relative inferiority—is really, in the minds of those who have issued it, an objection. The franchises which it gives are a submission to European prejudices and sympathies. They will be really granted only so far as Europe enforces them. The supreme power in every country is necessarily irresistible; it can be prevented from being arbitrary only by being divided. In Turkey it was formerly divided between the Ulema, the Janissaries, and the Sultan. The Janissaries are gone. The Ulema has lost its authority, and what little influence is left to it must be directed against the Hatt-i-Humayoon, which

shocks the religious prejudices and the pride of caste of the Turks. What, then, can prevent the Sultan from treating that paper as a nullity—as a mere compliment to Europe? Nothing but the intervention of the allies. You ought to have commissioners specially appointed to see that it is carried out, and to report on its infractions.

Senior.—Our ambassadors and consuls are commissioners on whom that duty may be imposed.

Artim.—The consuls are busy on other details; the ambassadors think about nothing but *la haute politique*—that is to say, about increasing the influence of their own courts, or their own personal influence. Not one of them cares about the people of Turkey. Commissioners must be appointed *ad hoc*, with nothing else to attend to.

Senior.—But the commissioners will have no moral force in a country in which there is no public opinion. Do you propose to support them by physical force?

Artim.—Of course I do. You must not lose your hold upon Turkey; you must not let her go on in her natural progress towards barbarism. You must support these reforms by commissioners, and you must support our commissioners by garrisons. You must

leave troops to command the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, to keep down the fanatics of Constantinople and Adrianople, and of one or two other great towns.

In Egypt there is some division of power: there is the Sultan as well as the Viceroy. But the Sultan's power is weak; in physical force the subject is more than a match for his suzerain. The moral influence of the Sultan is still weaker, for the Viceroy hates and fears him. Except from without there is not the shadow of restraint on the Government.

Senior.—Are we right in discouraging the Canal?

Artim.—I think that you are wrong. I do not believe that you will be able to prevent its execution, or that you ought to wish to do so: I expect from it good of many different kinds. I believe that it will be useful to the commerce of Europe, but the great benefit I hope from it is that it will force Europe to consider seriously the state of Egypt, and to provide for its being tolerably governed.

The Canal of course is to be neutralised; there must be some superintendence to secure that. Who will have the keeping of it—the Sultan or the Viceroy? Clearly the Viceroy, for the Sultan is too weak and too distant. But you cannot allow a government to

which such a trust is confided to be so unrestrained and at the same time so unstable as this is.

You must interfere: you must insist on there being some security for property and life.

You see here large commercial and industrial establishments. Did you ever hear of a native house of business or of a native manufactory? No person who does not enjoy foreign protection has any credit. No one would trust an unprotected Egyptian, however large his capital, since that capital might be destroyed or confiscated in a day, or indeed in an hour.

In Mehemet Ali's time—I think it was in 1840—an American traveller named Sumner was in Alexandria, and wished to see the Viceroy. He applied to me instead of through his Consul. I reported his application, and Mehemet Ali, who liked strangers, said, "He is probably an original; I will see him."

He had a long interview, talked a great deal about America, and asked all sorts of questions. When it was over I was tired, and thought that he must be so too, and I took him into my room to repose with a pipe and coffee. He was charmed with Mehemet Ali, and remarked on the easy terms on which I seemed to be with him.

"Supposing," said Sumner, "you were to offend the Viceroy, what could he do to you? Could he take your property?"

"Certainly."

"Could he behead you?"

"Certainly."

"Could he bastinado you?"

"Certainly."

"Well," he said, "we Americans think that we are brave people, but you are infinitely braver."

The next day Mehemet Ali talked to me about Sumner, and I repeated to him this conversation. "He is quite right," said Mehemet Ali.

Senior.—You were lately in Constantinople; pray tell me a little about the government of Turkey.

Artim.—It is even worse than that of Egypt. These people have at least some knowledge of the world. The Ottoman family have none, *can* have none. The Sultan's brother, the heir to the throne, occupies an appartment in the seraglio, in which he lives with four wives and four servants. The most respectable of them is a black ennuch, formerly a slave of my brother-in-law Hekekyan; he has a fine voice, and reads well the Koran, merits which made him formerly the preceptor,

and now the principal companion and adviser, of the future Sultan.

Senior.—And who are the other associates of the heir?

Artim.—There are none; he visits no one—no one visits him. He speaks only Turkish; when he rides out, it is etiquette not to salute him. Both in his rides and when he shoots, of which he is fond, these four slaves are his constant and only companions. He is now twenty-nine or thirty. Such has been his life ever since he quitted the hareem. What adds to the desolateness of his existence is that he can have no children. A daughter or sister of the Sultan is allowed to have daughters, but no sons; a brother or younger son of the Sultan must have no issue: it is by this means that the Sultan tries to evade the law which gives the inheritance to the brother or uncle of the deceased Sultan, to the exclusion of his son, if the son be younger. Care is taken that there never be nephews, and that there be as few as possible of these brothers or uncles, so that as soon as there is a son of age the brother or uncle may be removed. An unnatural law is eluded by unnatural means.

Senior.—If Il-Hami Pasha fulfils his engagement,

and marries the Sultan's daughter, will all his sons be sacrificed?

Artim.—Certainly; probably that is the reason that he shows no eagerness to complete that marriage.

Senior.—What was Mehemet Ali's motive for introducing that law of inheritance into Egypt? *

Artim.—The wish to exclude from the viceroyalty his grandchildren, Ibrahim's children.

Towards the close of his life he became jealous of Ibrahim, and, indeed, feared him—I believe without any reason, for Ibrahim, though eager enough to be Viceroy, was incapable of shortening his father's life or reign. In 1841, when the matter of the succession was arranged, Mehemet Ali was seventy-two. His suspicion of Ibrahim had grown to positive dislike. He expected to be the survivor—an expectation warranted by Ibrahim's excesses—and he wished Abbas, who in that event would be the eldest of the family, to be his successor.

But though he devoted the whole of his long energetic life to the founding of a dynasty; though he sacrificed to that object all honour, humanity, and good

* In 1866 Ismail Pasha obtained from the Porte, in return for additional tribute, the right of succession to his children in the direct line, and the title of Khedive.—Ed.

faith, he did not expect his dynasty to be permanent; he knew too well the inherent shortlivedness of Mussulman dynasties. He often foretold to me that in ten years after his death his family would be driven from Egypt.

I believe, in fact, that his anxiety to make his viceroyalty hereditary was selfish. It flattered his vanity; it raised him nearer to the rank of sovereign, and it really increased his power, for a man whose son or grandson is to succeed him is always better served than one who is to be followed by a stranger.

We dined with Mr. Bruce at his villa overlooking the Mahmoodeeyeh Canal and the Lake Mareotis, and met Mr. and Mrs. Thurburn and Mr. Saunders. We enjoyed, among other things, a fire.

Thursday, March 6.—I breakfasted with Mr. Bruce, and we walked together by the Mahmoodeeyeh Canal, and saw the busy scene at its terminus. The quay was lined with bags of cotton, which were being weighed and registered in order that the export duty of twelve per cent. *ad valorem* might be paid.

I repeated the substance of my conversation with Artim Bey.

Bruce.—All Artim Bey's remarks on the arbitrariness and insecurity of the governments of Turkey and of Egypt, on the expediency of controlling them, and on the necessity of fixing the fulcrum of the instrument that is to control them out of the country, since there is no stable foundation for it within, are true, perhaps obvious; but as soon as he comes to create his instrument, and talks of commissioners and garrisons, he gets out of the practicable into the desirable. I fear that my plan is little less Utopian than his.

I confine myself to Egypt; and my plan is that England and France should pull together, and aim only at the welfare of the country.

A fortnight ago I despaired of improving Egypt through Constantinople. But this Hatt-i-Humáyoon changes the condition of the problem. According to the firman on which his title rests, the Pasha is bound to carry out its provisions: one of them is the publication of an annual Budget of receipts and expenses; this would bring in its suit a Civil List.

Even a Mussulman sovereign could not openly and avowedly waste on personal follies half the revenues of the country. We ought, too, to insist on obedience to the article of the firman which limits the Egyptian

army to 18,000 men; that number is ample for the internal police of the country, and the great Powers may engage to preserve it against foreign attack. The consuls could make such a requisition less invidiously than the Sultan. He is not ashamed of submitting to the wolves, but is degraded at having to obey a lamb weaker than himself.

But for these purposes they must have joint instructions, or, at all events, communicated instructions; and they must take care not to lower the Pasha in the eyes of his subjects.

It is true that this family has no root in the country. He can scarcely be said to have an army; he has only some thousands of recruits, reluctant, untrained, and detestably officered, chiefly by Turks who cannot speak the language of their men. Besides this army he has nothing to rely on except the existing habits of obedience. A little discredit thrown on him by the Europeans might destroy the prestige which almost alone preserves those habits.

It would be difficult to find a substitute for this Government, bad as it is, and the interregnum might be dangerous to our commerce, to our transit, and to our telegraph. There is no saying what might be the

consequences to us of a few months of anarchy in Egypt.

I drank tea with Artim Bey. I asked him if he recollected the night described to me by Hekekyan, when Mehemet Ali lay alone in his divan in an empty palace, thinking over the chances of Ibrahim's fidelity.

Artim.—Certainly I do, and I recollect the day that followed it. Napier appeared off the old port, and sent in a letter requiring the Viceroy to surrender the Turkish fleet, and to submit to the award of the four Powers.

Senior.—What was his force?

Artim.—I forget—five or six ships; we had about eighteen sail of the line, and twenty frigates: not less than fifty ships, but we could not rely on the Turkish sailors. They would have joined the English if we had allowed the ships to quit the port. Nor could we, indeed, trust the Egyptians, and as for the artillerymen, they had spiked the guns on the batteries. Mehemet Ali was still in his mood of resistance: I took to him Napier's letter. He asked fiercely, "What does the Englishman say?" "Let the letter be translated to you," I answered. This was done. He rose from his

divan and began to walk up and down the room, exclaiming, "I will not give up the fleet; they may burn it if they can; they may burn Alexandria, they may drive me out of Egypt, and I will live a Hadji in Mecca. But they shall not drive me out of Egypt, or even out of Alexandria; I will fight until further resistance is impossible; I will make my last stand in the Powder Magazine, and when all is lost *je sauterai.*" "This may be well," I said, "in your Highness' position, but it will not suit your subjects. *Si vous sautez, vous vous sautez seul.*"

He came up to me in a fury; and I own that I trembled, and my knees shook. I moved back and he advanced, until I was close to the wall. There we stood face to face. He looked at me for some time, probably considering whether he should give a sign for my being strangled. At last he said, "Send an order for the Englishman to come on shore to me."

I wrote to Napier to say that the Viceroy thought that the matter could be best arranged in a personal interview, and to request that he would visit his Highness at the palace the next day. The next day Napier came; Mehemet Ali had had a night to reflect, and he had profited by it.

He seized him by both hands, placed him by his right side on the corner of the divan, gave him diamond-tipped pipes and coffee in gold cups, and acceded without remonstrance to all his demands; and in the same evening Napier was wandering alone over the bazaars in Alexandria in a round hat. I offered him a Kawass, but he said that he had objects with which an attendant would interfere.

Mehemet Ali was not a safe master, but he was an agreeable one. He was very generous. He had a quick and lively appreciation of character, and his conversation was charming. Although he did not learn to read until he was forty-seven, he had more literary taste than any Turk that I have known. He had every book about Napoleon that he could find translated for him, and read them or had them read to him with avidity. He made me translate the 'Esprit des Lois,' and read it with great interest: of course I rather paraphrased than translated. He would not have understood Montesquieu's terse epigrams.

He told me one day that he had read much about Machiavelli's 'Principe,' and begged me to translate it for him. I set to work, and gave him the first day ten pages, and the next day ten pages, and ten more the

third, but on the fourth he stopped me. "I have read," he said, "all that you have given me of Machiavelli. I did not find much that was new in your first ten pages, but I hoped that it might improve; but the next ten pages were not better, and the last are mere common-place. I see clearly that I have nothing to learn from Machiavelli. I know many more tricks than he knew. You need not translate any more of him."

Though passionate, he was not cruel, nor even indifferent to human suffering. I went with him one day to one of his farms. He found that his manager had been buying straw. He was very angry. "A farm," he said, "ought to furnish its own straw; there must have been peculation or mismanagement." He ordered the manager to receive 300 blows. I was shocked, and ventured to remonstrate, but he kept repeating that his farms must provide their own straw.

The next morning I found him in his divan in tears. "A dreadful thing," he said, "has happened to me. The man whom yesterday I ordered to be beaten is dead. You must find out his family, give his widow a pension of 100 dollars a year, and provide for his children, if he has left any."

Mehemet Ali's sons by his old Macedonian wife,

Ibrahim, Ismail, and Toussoun, were all men of ability, far superior to those by his slaves; and they were much better educated—not that they had any more learning, but that, as they were born before he was Pasha, they escaped the flattery which has ruined the others.

Perhaps, however, power would have spoiled them, as it spoiled Abbas. I once said to Achmed, "You are an excellent man now, but God knows what you will be when you are Viceroy. Abbas was good and Said was good in private life."

Senior.—Which had the most talent, Abbas or Said?

Artim.—Abbas, and, though he could speak only Turkish, the most literature. He talked well, and wrote well, his own language. Said speaks well no language but French. His Turkish is bad, and he cannot write at all. Said hates education of every kind. He is the bolder man. Abbas was timid. Mehemet Ali used to abuse him for his indolence, and prophesied to him that if he passed all his time smoking and lolling on his divan he would be assassinated. This prophecy sank deep into Abbas timid mind, and assassination was always uppermost in his thoughts.

Senior.—I wonder, then, that he ventured to illtreat or even to threaten the very Mamelukes who kept guard over him.

Artim.—No European would have done so, nor would he, perhaps, when he was cool, but in his fits of anger he was mad. He killed several of his Mamelukes, one a few days before his own death, and certainly had threatened the two who murdered him.

Senior.—What has become of them ?

Artim.—I believe that they are still in the army; they have never been punished. Abbas' mother came to Said to ask that her son might be revenged, but Mahmoud Pasha, Mustapha Bey, and Elfi Bey, the three persons who first heard of the murder, had all been Mamelukes. To preserve the honour of the corps, they made the physicians sign a certificate that the death was natural; and Said was anxious that that story should be believed, as he did not like to put the assassination of Viceroys into people's heads.

Senior.—With whom does Said live ?

Artim.—With his servants, like all oriental princes. Then his soldiers, particularly the privates, have free access to him. Turks are fond of low company; they are at ease in it.

Senior.—Said seems to me to be at ease in all companies.

Artim.—For a short time, but he does not like the restraint of polished society, or the sustained conversation of intelligent persons. He has quickness, *à propos* and repartee, and some humour and *naïveté*, but there is no sequence in his ideas. He cannot reason. He has dismissed all his Councils, and turned his ministers into clerks; but so little is he aware of the extent of the duties which he has assumed that he wastes four or five hours a day drilling recruits. That, however, is his amusement; and the amusements of a Turk are so few that he must take what he can get. A friend of mine, a native physician, was called in a few days ago by a Turk, and found him dying of dyspepsia, arising from torpor of mind and body. He advised him to ride. "I don't like riding," said the patient. "Then," said the physician, "spend a few hours every morning in your hareem." "I hate my hareem," was the answer. "Then," said the physician, "count your money for a few hours." "I don't care about money," replied the patient. "Then," said the physician, "hang yourself; for how can life be endurable to a man who does not care for his horse, or his wife, or his money?"

Friday, March 7.—We lunched with the Ruyssenaers, at their pretty house on the Mahmoodeeyeh Canal, not far from Pompey's Pillar. All the country houses of the Alexandrians seem to be on the banks of this Canal, in consequence, I suppose, of the facilities which it gives for irrigation.

We talked of the Viceroy.

Ruyssenaer.—He has done more for the improvement of the country during his year and a-half of reign than perhaps was ever done during a similar period by any sovereign of Egypt.

1. He has abolished slavery.

2. He has abolished the octrois of the towns.

3. He has reduced the interior customs from twelve per cent. *ad valorem* to three per cent.

4. In the times of Mehemet Ali and Abbas the taxes were paid in kind, and at a valuation made by the Government. The Fellah was told, "Your land owes 1000 piastres. I will take it in wheat at the rate of a quarter for every 100 piastres;" when perhaps the quarter of wheat was worth 200 piastres. You may conceive the extortion and oppression to which this led, or rather invited. Under Said all the taxes are paid, as well as imposed, in money.

5. The extension of military service to all classes is a reform perhaps harshly carried out, but right in itself and beneficial to the country, especially to the most oppressed portion of the inhabitants, the agricultural labourers.

6. He has purchased within the last few weeks from Constantinople the right to appoint the Kadis of all the great towns, except Cairo, for the Kadiship of which the Porte as yet asks an extravagant price. He is still in treaty for it, and will eventually obtain it. He will thus be able to stop an enormous source of bribery and injustice; for the corruption and ignorance of the Turkish Kadis is inconceivable. Not one of them speaks or even reads the language of the country. He intends the Kadi of Alexandria to be elected by universal suffrage and ballot. All the Egyptian inhabitants are to write a name; and the man who has most votes will be appointed.

You see how anxious he is to introduce European capital and European capitalists, and to give to them concessions which will erect them into privileged bodies above his control, and subject to the jurisdiction of only their own consuls.

During the few months that you have been here he has established the electric telegraph and the foreign

bank; he is anxious to promote the Canal, which will bring into the heart of Egypt a body of foreign capitalists protected by all the great Powers, possessors of a tract of land and of a town on his most exposed frontier, and owners of the communication from sea to sea. His predecessor submitted reluctantly to begin the railway for the sake of the English. He is not only completing the trunk lines, but is making branches, for the use of his own people.

You have been told that he dislikes Europeans; love of justice, for himself as well as for others, is his predominating feeling. This has been shocked by his intercourse in matters of business with the detestable European population that swarms in Egypt.

He has been so often cheated by them, their claims against him have been so iniquitous, and the arbitrators so partial, and sometimes so corrupt, that he may be forgiven if from time to time he abuses them all as rogues: but they are the persons with whom he lives; no Mussulman Sovereign ever admitted them to so much intimacy.

We dined with the Greens,* and met the Greek

* Sir John Green, afterwards Consul-General at Bucharest.—Ed.

Consul-General. His wife, a Levantine, smoked paper cigarettes during the whole evening.

He pressed me to travel in Greece, where I should enjoy, he said, a beautiful country and a fine climate.

I asked him what sort of accommodation I should find.*

Consul.—In Athens better than in Alexandria. In the Morea no inns, but, what is more agreeable, hospitality.

Senior.—I fear that I shall find strong Russian sympathies there.

Consul.—The Russians are the enemies of our enemies, the Turks.

Senior.—Do you consider the Turks still as your enemies?

Consul.—Certainly, as long as they possess what ought to belong to us—Thessaly, Macedonia and Epirus.

The great Powers drew an arbitary line across the peninsula, excluding from us our friends, our neighbours, our brothers and our cousins, men of our race and language and religion, who had fought by our sides in the long War of Independence.

* Mr. Senior visited Greece in the following year, and published his Journal.—Ed.

We have submitted, and *they* have submitted, to force, but the submission will last only as long as the force. The instant that the Powers of Europe cease to keep them asunder, the two parts of Greece will coalesce.

If England and France will not assist us, of course we look to Russia, but, apart from this political bond, we have no sympathy with the Russians.

Senior.—Not as your co-religionists?

Consul.—Not in the least. In the first place, we do not aeknowledge the Czar as the head of the Church; we hold his pretensions to be blasphemous. Our head is the Patriarch of Constantinople.

In the second place, the few points of doctrine and discipline on which the Greek Church differs from the Latin are not sufficiently important to form the grounds of natural attraction or repulsion. You agree with the Prussians in religion, and differ from the Austrians: has that circumstance occasioned you to be more friendly to the former than to the latter? Are you fonder of the Protestant Dutchmen than of the Catholic Belgians? The real cause of sympathy between nations is similarity of institutions. We dread and abhor the Russian despotism; we had rather suffer under the

irritating arbitrariness of the Turks than under the grinding, numbing oppression of the Russians.

To be under the Turks is purgatory, to be under the Russians is hell. *Unde nulla est redemptio.*

Senior.—Was it not absurd in the great Powers to make you a monarchy? Would you not have done better as a confederacy of republics?

Consul.—We should have cut one anothers' throats; we are not yet civilised enough for such complete self-government; after four centuries of slavery we cannot do without a monarch.

Senior.—Have you made much progress in returning to classical Greek?

Consul.—Very great. Pure Greek is taught in all the schools; it is the language of our books. Twenty years hence what is now called modern Greek will be a *patois*, like the Venetian or Neapolitan dialects of Italian, spoken by only the lower classes, and written by none.

Senior.—I have wondered at our persisting to teach Greek as a dead language, to be pronounced according to a fashion invented by ourselves. We might just as well teach French so, and turn out excellent French scholars, reading and writing French as easily as they did English, but incapable of speaking a word

intelligibly. Greek is a living language, and has never ceased to be a living language. If we gave to the Greek letters their proper vocal signification—if we rendered, for instance, *iota* by *é*, instead of by *i*, and *heta* by *a* instead of by *e*, and so on, we should pronounce Greek, not perhaps exactly as the ancient Greeks did, but much more nearly so than we do now. All our Greek schools and universities ought to have modern Greeks as professors of Greek pronunciation, who should teach, first the masters and then the boys, how to pronounce the language. This would enable us, in the first place, to converse in a language which is rapidly increasing in extent and importance, and would probably enable us to enjoy the melody of Greek verse and prose better than we can when we apply to Greek letters sounds which they were not intended to express, and which they do not express to any eyes or ears but our own.

Green.—I quite agree with you, and I can say, from long experience, that Greek spoken by a Greek is incomparably more agreeable than Anglo-Greek. No one who has been accustomed, as I was for sixteen years, to hear Greek from Athenians can bear to hear the barbarous pronunciation of the English.

Saturday, March 8.—I drove this morning with Koenig Bey, Clot Bey, and Mougil Bey, to visit the Viceroy at his palace near the Pharos.

I repeated to Mougil Bey Hekekyan's prophecy, that the tolls of the Navigable Canal will not pay for the expense of keeping its bed and its mouth clear.

Mougil.—Hekekyan is a clever man, but he is an architect, not an engineer. He can build a palace or a fort, but he knows nothing of harbours or canals: his fears are visionary. The Canal will not pass through a drifting sand. When we traversed, two months ago, the country which we had crossed a year before, in our first investigation, we found even the foot-marks of our camels uneffaced; of course some attention must be paid to the mouths of the harbour, but there is no river to fill them, and the sands about Pelusium and Suez accumulate slowly.

You may remember that at Ramases we found a Greek summerhouse, apparently at precisely the same distance from the sea as it was 2000 years ago. It will cost one-tenth as much to keep open the mouths of the Canal as it costs to keep open the harbour at Havre. The real foundation of Hekekyan's fears are, first, that as an ex-minister, he expects everything attempted

by the Government to fail; and, secondly, or perhaps firstly, that, seeing that neither Menes nor Cheops nor Thothmes made the Canal, he cannot believe that we modern pigmies can make it.

We reached the palace at about half-past ten, but the Viceroy was still on horseback drilling his recruits.

The palace overlooks an esplanade half as large as the Champ de Mars, which was almost filled by men under drill. Their instructors had sticks and whips, which they used, without reserve, to punish any awkwardness or inattention. We passed on our road a body of about 100 recruits, marching chained two and two—this is the way in which they join the depôt.

Said's son, a remarkably pretty boy of two years old, very fair, was walking over the palace, with his English nurse. Said has given her absolute authority over him, and her management of him frightens the hareem. In defiance of Egyptian habits, he is exposed to the evil eye clean and well dressed.

We found Ruyssenaer, the Dutch Consul, and the Spanish Consul waiting for an audience.

At eleven the Viceroy came in; we were seated on each side of him, and received our pipes and coffee. He

complained of fatigue, said that he had been drilling his men for four hours, but was repaid by the rapid progress which they were making.

Viceroy.—The Egyptians are like monkeys. They can imitate immediately whatever they see. I have now 32,000 men, not a couple of thousand of them have been in my service for twelve months—the great body have been raised within the last six weeks—yet you would take them for old soldiers.

He talked of Il-Hami's claims.

Viceroy.—Il-Hami is in bad hands. Ayrton Bey is a zealous agent, but far too zealous.

I do not wonder that he did not succeed at the English bar—he is an advocate born to ruin his clients. He claims for Il-Hami I do not know what as compensation for the loss of the villages which I have resumed.

This granting of villages is a crying abuse. I will never grant any, and I will never admit the validity of such grants. What right had Abbas to seize seventy of the best villages in the Delta, ruin all the proprietors, and make a present of them to his son? If he could give him those seventy villages, he could give him all

Egypt; and when I became Viceroy I might have found all my viceroyalty Il-Hami's property, and all my subjects Il-Hami's Fellahs. Il-Hami shall keep his 50,000 or 60,000 feddans of private property which Abbas inherited and bought, but not a field of what Abbas robbed other people to give him.

Then Ayrton claims all the camels, horses, mules and carriages of the Transit, all the rolling-stock on the railway, and all the steamers. I wonder that he does not claim the value of the fortifications and of their artillery. A steamer is only a floating battery. He claims even the expense of Il-Hami's journey to Europe for the purpose of depriving me of the succession. Il-Hami himself has nothing to do with all this; he is a poor creature. He cannot write (that deficiency is common enough among us), but he cannot even read. I have seen him puzzle for an hour over a short note, and at last get his secretary to read it to him. He visits me from time to time, sits down in that chair, smokes, and says nothing. I say nothing, and when his pipe is out he goes away.

Koenig.—Ayrton is a *tête embrouillée.* He cannot understand the principle that in a civilised country all establishments for public purposes belong to the state,

not to the individual sovereign in whose time they were founded.

Viceroy.—I said to Ayrton that when I let Il-Hami have all Abbas' furniture and palaces and movables I let him have more than the children of any European king get. William the Fourth's children did not get Windsor Castle or its furniture.

If the principles involved in Il-Hami's claims were conceded one or two successions would ruin Egypt. Our reigns are not very long, and every successor would find the treasury empty, and the public establishments the private property of his predecessor's children. Ayrton puts forward in support of Il-Hami the claims which we, Mehemet Ali's children, made against Abbas. He forgets that Mehemet Ali inherited nothing. He created everything.

Besides, no one is bound by a claim; one claims much more than one expects to get. And what did we get? Only 180,000 purses. Ayrton cannot understand that Abbas was entitled to nothing until he had paid all the expenses of administration. Now, he did not pay them: he let the canals go to ruin, and he left 300,000 purses of debt for me to pay. If I were to set off that against his claims, what would they be worth?

The fact is that it is some of you consuls that push Il-Hami on. They think that they shall set him up as a *puissance* against me. They will never succeed, these are not times in which anything is to be gained by opposing those in authority.

What did all the revolutionists of 1848 do? What did we do when we opposed Abbas? In a couple of years Il-Hami will have spent all his ready money, *et il sera doux comme un agneau, comme nous étions tous sous Abbas.*

Having finished this monologue, for scarcely anybody else spoke, he got up and strode to the door, and our audience, which literally was on our part an audience, was over. It lasted three pipes, which must be about an hour.

We dined with the Hugh Thurburns, who inhabit a pretty house in a park-like garden, about three miles from Alexandria, on the Mahmoodeeyeh Canal.

I reported my interview with the Viceroy.

Thurburn.—The Viceroy's statement as to Il-Hami's ignorance is true; but, except that he can speak French, he himself is not much better educated. I do not think that he can write; indeed, scarcely any Turk

except the professional scribes can write; many are never taught writing, and those who have been taught forget it for want of practice; everything is written for them by their secretaries. They have not even the practice which they might get by signing, for they merely smear a seal with ink and stamp the paper with it.

Senior.—Ruyssenaer told me that he had seen Said read eight or nine petitions, and very quickly.

Thurburn.—If he reads petitions he reads nothing else.

Senior.—What is the source of Said's hatred to his nephews?

Thurburn.—A Turk always hates his predecessor's family, but Said has especial reasons. Il-Hami and his uncle Ibrahim's sons, Achmed, Mustapha and Ismail, on Abbas' death addressed a private letter to the Sultan, abusing Said, and requesting that he might not be confirmed as Viceroy. The Sultan, perhaps in a drunken fit, showed the letter to Said.

Thurburn is delighted with the clause in the Hat-i-Humáyoon authorising Christians to purchase land.

Thurburn.—It will be acted on extensively, for

foreigners can afford to give more for land than natives can, as they can make more of it: a rich native is a subject for plunder by every one in authority. He is robbed by force and, if he attempts to defend himself, he is still more effectually robbed by law. But a foreigner delights in a contest with the Government; he is sure to entrap the Turks into some illegality, and then he runs to his Consul, and gets 1000 per cent. indemnity. The Levant is full of Finlays and Pacificos. It is a regular trade.

Then the Turks are borrowers: they never know what their incomes are, and always exceed them. Let a Turk once mortgage his land to a Christian *protégé*, and he will soon cease to have any property in it. In a very few years the mortgage money will exceed the value of the fee simple. It will grow like a grain of mustard-seed.

Clot Bey drank tea with us.

We talked of the plague.

Clot.—I wish that I could agree with those who believe that the improvement in the sanitary state of Egypt has eradicated plague, or has even materially mitigated it. It is now thirteen years since its last

visit; the usual interval is twelve years. I have no doubt that as soon as the atmospheric conditions on which it depends coexist it will reappear.

Senior.—Have you any theory as to what those conditions are?

Clot.—Not the least, except that they are not constant: permanent causes produce permanent states of disease. Wherever there are marsh miasmata there are intermittent fevers; but the dirt, the crowding and the bad feeding to which plague has been attributed exist always in Cairo and Alexandria, while plague is only occasional.

Senior.—Has your long experience in the treatment of plague given you any valuable knowledge?

Clot.—Therapeutically none. Whatever be the treatment, in the beginning of the epidemic almost all who are attacked die; about the middle half die; when it is going away almost all recover.

Prophylactically also I have learned little. Excesses of all kinds are predisposing causes, but the strong and the sober die in nearly the same proportion as the weakly and the intemperate. There is only one propyhlactic—flight. Fly from the approaches of plague—fly early, and fly far.

The only important result at which I have arrived at is that plague is not transmissible, that it cannot be propogated by inoculation, like small-pox, or by contact or by emanations, mediate or immediate, like typhus.

For five months in 1835 my colleagues and I were in constant contact with plague patients. I inoculated myself twice with the matter of their tumours. We wore clothes taken off their bodies; we slept in their beds; we opened more than a hundred bodies; we tried every mode of exposure, and we none of us were attacked. I claim no merit for this, for I had previously convinced myself that plague is not transmissible. I acted, indeed, on that conviction with respect to persons whose lives were much dearer to me than my own; I used no precaution with respect to my own family, but went straight from the plague hospital to my wife and child. The result has been the virtual abolition of quarantine in England and France. You owe to the proof which we gave of the noncontagiousness of plague, that when you have left Egypt you will not have to pass three weeks in a lazaretto at Malta or at Marseilles.

Sunday, March 9.—I called on Clot Bey, and found

with him Hekekyan, who left Cairo a few days before us.

We talked of the incompatibility of Islamism and good government.

Clot.—I attribute the inferiority of Mahometans principally to polygamy. Every hareem is a little despotism in which the vices of a despotism—its lawlessness, its cruelty, its intrigues, the pride and selfishness of its master, and the degradation of its subjects—are reproduced on a smaller scale, but not with less intensity. Each wife is, of course, the enemy of all the others. The children take part with their mothers, and hate their half-brothers and sisters. They are trained up in the evil passions of a family war—its stratagems, its falsehood, its spite and its revenge.

Polygamy, again, renders unavoidable the seclusion of women. A man can secure the affections, and indeed can watch the conduct, of one wife. He cannot expect to be loved by three or four. He must control them by force, and the only effectual way is to shut them up.

Seclusion brings with it the power of wanton divorce; as the two sexes never meet, a husband does not see

his wife till after the marriage. No one would marry so blindly if the tie were indissoluble.

The practice of the husband paying for the wife, instead of receiving a portion with her, follows the facility of divorce. A provision must be made for her on the very probable contingency that she will be thrown again on her father's hands as a divorced woman; and the value of a divorced woman is not above half that of a virgin.

This again produces early marriages: it is a better speculation to sell a daughter at eleven years old than at twenty, just as a farmer finds it better to sell his mutton at two years old than at five; and these early marriages give us mothers unfit to bring up their children. If polygamy degrades the wife, depraves the children, and turns the husband into a tyrant, does not that institution alone account for Mussulman inferiority?

Senior.—Admitting the mischievousness of polygamy, I am inclined to think that the inferior civilisation of Mahometans is also in some measure to be attributed to what is called their fatalism.

According to European notions God has ordained that events shall succeed one another in obedience to

certain rules. When we have discovered one of those rules we endeavour to take advantage of it, in order to occasion the occurrence of the events which we desire.

Mahometans believe that every event is caused separately by the will of God—that He has ordained it, according to some teachers, from all eternity; according to others, *pro re natâ*; and that, on either hypothesis, it occurs, not in obedience to a general rule, but in consequence of God's volition that it shall occur.

Under such a theory nothing is to be gained by bringing yourself under the operation of a general rule. There cannot be a more universal rule than that a man who does not go to a battle will not be killed in it; but Mahomet affirmed that those who were predestined by God to die in the battle of Beder, would have fallen down dead if they had stayed at home. The difference between the Mussulman and European theory is almost as great as the difference between a kingdom governed by law and one governed arbitrarily.

Clot.—But when Mehemet Ali consulted the Ulema as to the lawfulness of quarantine, some of them declared that God sometimes makes, or has made, hypothetical decrees—that He may have decreed, for instance,

that if you keep quarantine you shall escape plague, but that if you mix with the infected you shall die.

Senior.—Such an opinion is an abandonment of fatalism, and a recognition of the Christian doctrine of general rules. But I do not believe that it is generally acquiesced in.

Clot.—Certainly not in theory, but it is generally acted on in practice. No one habitually carries out the theory that he has no influence on his own fortunes or on those of others.

Senior.—No one acts on it habitually, but those who are imbued with it, as you will admit to be the case with all Mahometans, are apt to be influenced by it precisely on the occasions on which it is likely to be most mischievous; when a long or painful course of exertion is to be pursued, particularly if it be for the benefit of another. It affords a constant excuse for inactivity and carelessness. I have no doubt that many of the Turks whose remissness contributed to the loss of Kars comforted themselves by the belief that Kars would stand or fall, not in consequence of their supporting or omitting to support it, but according to the immutable decree of God. I know that Sultan Mahmoud was told that if he went on drinking, he

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would die of delirium tremens. He answered that whether he should or should not die of delirium tremens depended not on himself, or on his drinking or abstaining, but on the will of God.

Hekekyan.—As we are unable to imagine anything of which we have not had experience, every nation attributes human feelings and conduct to its Deity. The English believe Him to be a constitutional monarch governing the world according to fixed rules laid down for the benefit of the governed. The Mahometans believe Him to be a despot, governing the world, not according to any rules, but as He thinks fit, or has thought fit, to determine in each individual case.

The principal qualities attributed by Christians to God are love and justice. The principal quality attributed to Him by Mussulmans is mercy. He is usually designated in the Koran by the terms, "the Compassionate" or "the Merciful." "Allah akbar!" (God is great) and "Allah kerim!" (God is merciful), are the most usual interjections of the Arabs; neither love nor justice is attributed to Him. Now, love and justice are the attributes of a constitutional ruler; power, and mercy those of an absolute master.

Clot.—It is a mistake to treat Turks or Arabs and Europeans as fellow-creatures. They certainly have brains differently constituted. The brain of a European is constantly at work. I believe that even in sleep it goes on thinking; though when our sleep has been sound we do not remember our dreams. Thought in a Turk is intermittent, what he calls "kief" is an intellectual paralysis; he rolls himself in a ball on his divan, and neither sleeps nor thinks.

The aboriginal Egyptian approaches more to the European.

Senior.—Do you treat the Egyptians as aborigines? I have been accustomed to consider Egypt as a large oasis in the desert which extends from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf, intersected only by the Nile and the Red Sea, and to suppose that the Arab tribes which wander over that desert have peopled Egypt.

Clot.—The Egyptian is not an Arab; his skull, his features, his character and his language all differ from those of the Arabs, whether of the Sahara or of Arabia proper. If any people have a right to be called aborigines it is the Egyptians, for no foreign stock can perpetuate itself here.

The Arabs, the Turks, the Europeans, who fix in this

country, all die out. We find Europeans rear with great difficulty some of their children born here. If those children marry the Egyptian-born children of other Europeans, their progeny, if they have any, seldom lives, and in the third generation they are sure to be extinct. The wives and concubines of Mehemet Ali's descendants have all been Europeans, yet the family is rapidly dwindling away. Abbas left only one child. It is not likely that Said will leave more than one; the chances are against his leaving any. How faint are the traces which the Greeks or Romans or Saracens have left!—and the Turks will leave as few.

Senior.—At what do you estimate the population of Egypt?

Clot.—At more than 4,000,000. I have ascertained that the annual births exceed 150,000. If we suppose them to amount to one twenty-seventh of the whole population, which is a proportion not unusual in Europe, that gives 4,050,000, and it ought rapidly to increase. There is enough of land irrigated, or which might be easily irrigated, now uncultivated, to feed 8,000,000 or 10,000,000, or perhaps many more. Formerly the small-pox destroyed one-third of the children. Vaccination is saving—or, rather, if our

medical school had not been destroyed, would have been saving—40,000 children every year.

The destruction of that school is the public event which, of all that I have witnessed, has given me most pain. I had there 150 students; they remained for five years, and therefore, if all practised their profession, would have added every year thirty to the medical men in Egypt. Allowing for those who failed, they actually did furnish every year twenty-five. In twenty years this amounted to 500, or about one medical man to every 8000 souls. The proportion in France is one to 1500 souls. Mehemet Ali intended to increase the school so as to enable it to furnish 1000 medical men, or one to every 4000 souls. I saw Said Pasha the day after that on which my students had been drafted into the army. I was—and looked—very wretched.

"What is the matter with you?" he inquired.

"Your Highness need scarcely ask me," I answered, "when I have seen in one day the destruction of the labours of my whole life."

I drank tea with Artim Bey, and met there Clot Bey and Hekekyan Bey.

Hekekyan.—What we want in Egypt is good

government. What we have is not government—it is mere subjection. It is the arbitrary action of one despot called a Viceroy or Pasha, who delegates his power to other despots called Mudeers, Nazirs, and Sheykhs, each of whom plunders and beats the people according to his good pleasure; the head despot reserving to himself the privilege of hanging them.

Artim.—For that purpose we do not want any more laws, but some power of enforcing the laws that we have. The Hatt-i-Sherif of Gul Háneh,* if it were obeyed, would render the Ottoman Empire as well governed as most parts of the continent of Europe.

Hekekyan.—And the firman of 1841, which is the title-deed of this dynasty, grants the viceroyalty to Mehemet Ali and his descendants only on the condition of their governing Egypt in conformity to the general laws of the empire. Mehemet Ali introduced as a qualification the words, "so far as they can be applied in Egypt," but no one can say that the clauses in the Hatt-i-Sherif which provide that no one shall be put to death without a public trial and a judicial sentence, or those which require soldiers to be taken from each district only in proportion to its population, or those

* Promulgated in 1839.—Ed.

which require the taxes to be assessed by a Council composed of the most eminent men in the country, are inapplicable to Egypt. The Viceroys of Egypt have utterly disregarded these provisions. They have broken, therefore, the condition on which they hold the viceroyalty.

The firman of 1841, though in words a transaction between the Porte and Mehemet Ali, was granted and accepted under the dictation of the four Powers. They have a right—and having a right they are subject to a duty—to see that it is obeyed.

Artim.—The Hatt-i-Sherif declares the rights of property to be inviolable; what property ought to be more sacred than a debt due from the Government for services performed for it? Yet Said by a mere order deprived all the public servants of the arrears that were due to them.

Hekekyan.—Yes; and as the petitions and remonstrances of the sufferers teased him, by an order issued a week afterwards he announced that every person who petitioned against the first order, or complained of it, would be dismissed from the service.

Artim.—I was Abbas' Minister at Constantinople. Soon after his accession, I asked, on his behalf, that

he should have the power of life and death. I was opposed by Lord Stratford, and supported by your Consul-General, Murray. We maintained that to govern four millions of semi-barbarians without the power of capital punishment would be impossible. The result was that Abbas was authorised to punish capitally, but only after a trial and a judicial sentence, and then with the sanction of his Council of Justice. The delegation of this power to Said is similarly qualified. Said has abolished the Council, and hangs and drowns and shoots without trial.

Senior.—Just before I left Cairo, a gentleman and lady, English travellers, went to the Pyramids. As they passed through Geezeh, a man was hanging on the gallows. The lady did not observe him, and the gentleman was unwilling to attract her attention to him by asking any questions. I have not been able to ascertain the grounds of his execution.

Hekekyan.—Whatever they were, the execution was legally a murder unless it was preceded by a trial and sentence, which is improbable. Even if the man was regularly tried and sentenced, the absence of the sanction of the Council rendered his execution illegal. Said was guilty of a gratuitous breach of

the firman when he abolished the Council, for they would not have ventured to refuse their sanction to any number of executions, on any sort of pretence; nor would he have had any difficulty in obtaining convictions and sentences from the judges whom he would have appointed. In a country without public opinion laws quickly degenerate into forms.

Artim.—There is a public opinion here, and a public opinion which Said respects, and even dreads. It is the opinion of the Consuls of France and England—for he cares little, perhaps less than he ought, for the rest of Europe. Whatever he thinks may please England and France—or, rather, Englishmen and Frenchmen—he does. Six weeks ago he was intent on making soldiers of the Copts, but when he found that Mr. Bruce and some other English people were interested for them, he let them go. He wished, perhaps, as he did on another occasion, to give *une belle page* to Mr. Senior's journal. So also, when he heard that his treatment of the Bedouins was blamed, he set free the Bedouin prisoners at the Barrage—at least, the few that remained alive. It is not necessary that England and France should send troops to Egypt. Energetic consuls, jointly instructed to resist any

breach of the provisions of the firman of 1841, of the Hatt-i-Sherif of Gul Háneh, and of the Hatt-i-Humáyoon, will be sufficient.

Clot.—When I was with him some days ago, some one said that the Hatt-i-Humáyoon would ruin the Turks.

"That is quite true," said the Viceroy.

"It is true," I said, "if the Turks choose that it should be so. It is not true if they set to work earnestly to reform their institutions."

Hekekyan.—He does not expect to have to obey the Hatt-i-Humáyoon.

When the Suez Canal was first proposed, soon after his accession, I pointed out to him that all difficulties would not be over as soon as the Sultan's firman was obtained, since the Porte might try to interfere with the management and use of the Canal.

"Before the Canal is finished," he answered, "I shall probably be independent."

Artim.—There are several commands in the Hatt-i-Humáyoon which a Viceroy of Egypt will not readily obey. One is that which directs the publication of the annual receipts and expenditure. When the firman of 1841 gave to the Viceroy all the surplus

revenue which might remain after paying the tribute and defraying the expenses of administration, it was not supposed that that surplus would amount to much. Nor, indeed, ought it, for, as there is no amount of money that may not be usefully employed, especially in such a country as Egypt, for administrative purposes, a public-spirited sovereign would employ for those purposes all that remained of his revenue after the small expenditure necessary for his personal comfort and dignity. Mehemet Ali did so. He spent little on himself; the rest of his revenue, though often, according to my notions, misapplied, was applied to public purposes.

Abbas and Said have cut down all the public establishments: the fleet is gone; the army, which in Mehemet Ali's time exceeded 150,000 men, was reduced by Abbas to 60,000, and does not now amount to 40,000 men. All the expensive schools which Mehemet Ali founded have been suppressed. Few of his great manufacturing establishments remain, and those which still exist have been much reduced. Much land, formerly irrigated, is now dry and waste, and much more is imperfectly irrigated.

If the canals had been kept as clean as they were

in Mehemet Ali's time, this year's inundation would have been sufficient. In their present state they have admitted so little water that we expect a scarcity next summer. While the expenditure has been thus reduced, free trade with England, the war demand and perhaps Californian and Australian gold, have enormously swelled the receipts. Abbas' annual surplus revenue probably exceeded 1,000,000 sterling. The whole of it—indeed, much more than the whole of it (for he died deeply in debt)—was wasted in the most childish follies. The furniture of one of his palaces cost £200,000. He had more than 1000 saddle-horses, for whose accommodation he covered many acres with stabling; yet he was too timid ever to mount one of them, and he would not show them for fear of the evil eye.

Said's surplus revenue must be still greater; or, rather, will be so as soon as he has paid off Abbas' debts.

Of course, if he was left to himself he would waste or hoard the whole surplus. But such conduct could not bear the light. Louis XIV. burned the vouchers which showed what Versailles and Marly had cost. If he had been forced to publish his

expenditure, he would have kept it within reasonable bounds.

If the consuls see that this clause in the Hatt-i-Humáyoon is obeyed, half the revenue of Egypt will be diverted from unproductive to productive employment.

Another clause against which Said will kick is that which declares that the conscription shall be subject to redemption and substitution. He sets his face, as Napoleon did—as every despot does—against both. A friend of mine, one of the richest of the Sheykhs, whose only child was seized as a conscript, came to Alexandria a fortnight ago, and offered for the release of his son six substitutes and £5000. Said refused them.

One of Mehemet Ali's measures, which I see with most regret abandoned, is the sending young men to France and England for education. Hekekyan, Stephan Bey, and I and many others, owe to it the power of doing what good we have done to the country, which, at least in Hekekyan's case, has been very great.

Hekekyan.—It is remarkable that all the Egyptians and Asiatics whom Mehemet Ali sent to England for

education came back, like myself and like young Stephan, Anglomanists; while all whom he sent to France returned disgusted with Europe, and anxious to resume the tarboush and the wide trousers.

Clot.—I have made the same remark. I suspect that it arises from the exclusiveness of the good society of Paris. A young foreigner is not readily received in the little coteries into which the Parisian world divides itself. The London circles are much larger; a stranger finds his way into them with little difficulty. Our students, therefore, see only bad company in Paris, and are disgusted by it. In London they get, if not into the fashionable world, at least into a respectable world, infinitely superior in morals, knowledge, and intelligence to anything in the East.

Monday, March 10.—I called on Hekekyan Bey.

I took up Bowring's 'Report on the State of Education in Egypt in 1838.' "What has become," I asked, "of the Council of Public Instruction which presided over the whole?"

Hekekyan.—Abolished by Said.

Senior.—Of the primary schools which were spread over all Egypt?

Hekekyan.—Abolished by Abbas and Said.

Senior.—Of the Preparatory Schools?

Hekekyan.—One exists, and the other was abolished by Abbas.

Senior.—Of the Polytechnic School?

Hekekyan.—Abolished by Said.

Senior.—Of the School of Languages?

Hekekyan.—Abolished by Abbas. Shepherd's Hotel in the Esbekeeyeh was built to receive it. Mr. Shepherd and his waiters are the successors of the Professors of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, French and English.

Senior.—Of the Cavalry School?

Hekekyan.—Abolished by Abbas.

Senior.—Of the Infantry School?

Hekekyan.—Abolished by Abbas.

Senior.—Of the Artillery School?

Hekekyan.—Abolished by Abbas.

Senior.—Of the Veterinary School?

Hekekyan.—Abolished by Abbas.

Senior.—Of the Medical School?

Hekekyan.—Reduced by Abbas. The pupils that remained at Said's accession—about 100, instead of 150 whom Mehemet Ali left there—were taken by Said, and all sent to serve as privates in the army: young men

who had given five or six years to the study of medicine and surgery, every one of whom would have diffused not only health, but knowledge over the country.

Senior.—What then remains of the great provision made by Mehemet for public instruction?

Hekekyan.—Nothing except one Preparatory School. Abbas and Said, though they differ on every other question, agree in their hatred or their contempt of knowledge.

Did you visit the Public Library at Cairo?

Senior.—I did, and found the shelves empty, and the rooms occupied by the clerks of the War Office.

Hekekyan.—There were there 50,000 volumes collected by Mehemet Ali; not perhaps very judiciously, but still constituting a valuable and useful library. Some have been given away, more stolen, and the rest are perishing by damp in the vaults under the rooms which they formerly filled. Said himself, when prince, thought it princely to have a library of his own. He formed one at considerable expense; the other day he made a present of the whole to his house-painter. He has not kept a book. But while our sovereigns have been thus spurning literature and its works, and

its professors and its pupils, our great civiliser, the Transit, by making knowledge every day more profitable, has increased and improved the private schools, both among the Mussulmans and Christians. There are good Coptic, Armenian, and Greek schools in Cairo; a very good school for girls established by the Sœurs de la Charité, and a good one for boys by some French monks. The son of a Turk is now studying there. Mrs. Lieder has an excellent girls' school, supported by the Church Missionary Society.* Their boys' school has been closed for want of funds. The Jews have a school in Alexandria, better than any of Mehemet Ali's; so have the Greeks.

Senior.—What proportion of the population can read?

Hekekyan.—Of the females, not one in a thousand; of the males, about one in ten. Of all the servants that I have had only one has been able to read.

Senior.—What effect has the increased intercourse with Christians produced on the feelings towards them of the Mussulmans?

Hekekyan.—The only effect among the Turks has been to add fear to hate.

* Miss Mary Whately's school was not in existence at this time.—Ed.

As I speak Turkish perfectly, I am often taken for a Turk, and hear their real opinions and feelings. The carelessness of our manners, the license of our women, our tendency to intoxication, our eating unclean meats, and the general opposition of our habits and thoughts to theirs, have always disgusted them. They think *us* in in all essentials as barbarous and as absurd as we think *them*. They are now forced to admit our superior power. They believe that it will be employed against them, particularly by the English.

They feel, therefore, towards us every sort of hatred and aversion—social, religious and political. As for the Egyptians, they hate us socially and religiously; but politically they love us. We are the enemies of their enemies. They would be delighted to see their country taken by the English or by the French, or by anybody else, even by the Sultan.

Senior.—Yet *you* think that the last-mentioned event would be disastrous?

Hekekyan.—I think that to be governed from Constantinople by a revocable Pasha would be *immediately* disastrous, but it would be the *commencement de la fin*. It would be so disastrous that Europe would be forced to interfere in a few months, and to drive the highway-

man from the road to India. This, however, is not the reasoning of the Egyptians. It is a chain containing too many links for a native mind. They would call in the Sultan as a sick man turns in his bed, not that his new position will be easier, but simply because it will be new. This family has no root whatever in the country, a mere street row in Cairo or Alexandria might turn them out.

Never was a tribe less fitted for permanent empire than the Turks. Other conquerors have amalgamated themselves with their new subjects; sometimes by adopting their language, habits and religion, sometimes by imparting to them their own, until by intermarriages and common interests the two races have coalesced into one people. The Turks have always stood apart; not compatriots, but masters among slaves.

In their European territories they were repelled by differences of religion; but even in Egypt, where they found Mussulmans, they have remained as exclusively Turkish as they have in Roumelia. The Mussulman Fellah is not treated better than the Greek Rayah. The Turk and the Egyptian are at this instant as distinct and unsympathising as they were in the sixteenth century, when Selim had just conquered Egypt. Three

centuries of rule, however, bad as that rule has been, may be supposed to have invested the family of Othman with some rights; but what are the rights of the family of Cavalla?

Its founder was a Macedonian peasant, who was pressed into the Turkish army, rose to the command of a body of irregular cavalry, fought for the Turks against the Mamelukes, then for the Mamelukes against the Turks; seized Khursheed, the Turkish Pasha, and deposed him, then restored him to power and fought for him again against the Mamelukes; then deposed him again and usurped the Pashalic; then allied himself to the Mamelukes, then massacred them; and, having destroyed all his local competitors, held Egypt against his sovereign, the Sultan, partly by force and partly by intrigue. He, however, was a man of genius: he saw the advantages of military organisation and of intercourse with Europeans. His first object was to have a regular army. For that purpose it was necessary to have educated men, and it was necessary to have a large revenue. To have a large revenue it was necessary to render the communications throughout the country safe; to repress the robberies which made commerce and even intercourse dangerous. These

two means of power, a large regular army and a large revenue, were the only real objects pursued by Mehemet Ali.

Whether the means which he used for the obtaining it did incidentally good or harm to Egypt he cared little: as little as a post-master cares whether his horse be fat or thin, so that it does his work. The work which Egypt had to do was to keep him and his family Pashas by supplying them with soldiers and money: that alone gave to the country any interest in his eyes. He never identified himself with the Egyptians, he never learned their language, he never employed one of them in any office for which he could get a Turk; he used Egypt, as his son Said is fond of saying, as a *moyen*.

As for his successors, they have been cruel, selfish sensualists, who have looked on their viceroyalty as a property held only for life, out of which as much as possible is to be squeezed for their children.

So little does Said feel as an Egyptian—as a man to whom the welfare of his country is intrusted, and to whom that welfare ought to be the principal object—that he threatens that if his caprices are interfered with he will turn Egypt into a desert.

Who can feel loyalty or affection or respect for such a family; for a family which has so usurped its power, and has so employed it; for a family which not merely violates, but absolutely ignores the responsibilities of sovereignty, and treats its dominions as you have treated Sebastopol: as a conquest to be turned to account while it can be kept, and to be destroyed if it must be abandoned?

It is only by an effort—only by reflecting on the harm which they have done to me and mine, and are doing to me and mine—that I can bring myself to think of them seriously. My first impulse is always to treat them as actors, and actors who do not know their parts; as a set of uneducated *bourgeois gentilshommes*, who are aping what they suppose to be the manners and the language and the prodigalities and the vices of kings, without being conscious of the duties or even of the decencies which the rank to which they pretend imposes.

Senior.—Mr. Bruce ridicules the notion of a revolution in Egypt. He says that the Fellahs are too submissive, too abject, for revolt.

Hekekyan.—I think him utterly wrong. About 1823, in the height of Mehemet Ali's power, a half-

mad saint roused the people against him, and was put down with great difficulty.

Senior.—But for a popular revolution you must have a popular cry.

Hekekyan.—The popular cry would be "cheap bread and no conscription." This small, disorganised, raw, reluctant army would disband. They are all sighing to return to their homes. In 1840 the artillerymen at Alexandria spiked their own guns, lest they should have to defend themselves against Napier. What defence did Ibrahim Pasha's 60,000 men in Syria make against, not a British army, but a British squadron? They melted away as soon as there was a chance of real fighting.

A revolution, too, is possible which need not be popular. The heir to the throne is rich; he knows that Said fears and dislikes him. To be feared and disliked by a despot is a situation of extreme peril. He may try means which in a civilised country would be thought desperate, to escape from it.

Senior.—Would the change from Said to Achmed be an improvement?

Hekekyan.—Not much is gained by exchanging one Turk for another, especially if the second was born a

prince. Absolute power, the society of slaves, the absence of public opinion—at least of any avenue by which public opinion can reach them—blinds and intoxicates them all. Abbas and Said in private life would have been amiable men. I have known them from infancy. They were charming boys and pleasing young men, yet Abbas became a tyrant in a few years. Said—though, as he tells us, his teeth are not yet grown—is getting more Abbas-like every month. You must have seen, I think, a change even during the four months that you have been here.

Achmed certainly has more knowledge and more reflection. He is very grasping, but so they all are. He is, what is not common among them, parsimonious, but that is often a merit in a sovereign. Perhaps he might do better than Said; perhaps he might do worse. I would do nothing to promote the exchange: the good that I expect from a revolution is that it will accelerate the European intervention, which is my only real hope.

If I were sovereign of England, the instant that I heard of disturbances in Egypt I would order the Governor General of India to send 10,000 men to Kosseir and 10,000 to Suez, or to a landing place in the

Red Sea nearer to Cairo. They should be good Mahometans, saying their prayers five times a day. Emissaries should be sent to Suez, who about the time of their arrival should cut the wires of the telegraph. They might leave their heavy baggage and artillery and a reserve of water at the place of disembarkation as a base of operations, and march light, in two bodies of 6000 men each, from Kosseir or Keneh, and from their landing-place near Suez on Cairo. Small carts made of caoutchouc, with very high light wheels, dragged by men, should convey the water; and each man might carry a bottle or two on his person. If they met Bedouins they must be bought. They would not be hostile. The body that marched on Cairo might appear over the Citadel, and that which took the higher road might enter Keneh, without the expedition having been heard of. From Keneh to Cairo they would hold the Nile above the Barrage, and might starve the Delta.

But I do not think that they would be seriously resisted. The negro regiments might be ready to fight, and the Arnaut irregulars; but the Fellahs would disband and return to their villages, and the attention of the Turks might be distracted by a similar invasion from the Mediterranean.

Senior.—If you were the sovereign of England, your hands would be tied by the Parliament, and nothing but the necessity of keeping out the French would ever tempt the House of Commons to allow you to seize Egypt.

Before I quit the subject of Egypt, I will relate a conversation on board of the steamer from Alexandria, with an Englishman who had served Ismail Pasha in Paris and Cairo for some months as coachman, and was returning to England.

After Achmed, Ismail is the heir to the vice-royalty. It was in his palace near Cairo that Lord Canning was lodged, and that Mrs. Senior visited Ismail's mother and his two wives: the furniture is said to have cost £200,000. He sold the palace and its furniture a few weeks ago to Said, for £180,000, which is supposed to be not enough to pay his debts.

"He has about 20 carriage-horses, all English," said the coachman, "and about 150 saddle-horses, but very seldom rides, and then only a quiet horse with a saddle high before and behind, so that he cannot fall. He bought in Paris an English hunter, a

fine horse, for 300 guineas; mounted it twice, was thrown each time, and then had it broken to harness.

"His carriages are large and heavy, so that the Arab horses are too small for them. He paid 200 and 300 guineas apiece for his carriage-horses, but they are getting spoiled by the carelessness of those about his stable. Sometimes there is no straw, sometimes no barley. Nothing is regular in his household. He is very mean about trifles, but wastes large sums thoughtlessly.

"He and his brother Mustapha, when they were in Paris, used to buy whatever they saw; they were like children, nothing was fine enough for them; they bought carriages and horses like those of Queen Victoria or the Emperor, and let them spoil for want of shelter and cleaning."

"How long was Ismail Pasha in Paris?" I asked.

Coachman.—About four months.

Senior.—And what did he spend?

Coachman.—About £70,000, as I was told.

Senior.—And how did it go?

Coachman.—In buying things, and on women.

Senior.—In what society did he live?

Coachman.—The people he liked best to talk to were his servants: the lads who brought him his pipes and stood before him with their arms crossed. He sometimes sat on his sofa, and smoked, and talked to them for hours, all about women and such things.

Senior.—In what language?

Coachman.—In French; it is the only language which he speaks fluently—he learned it from his nurses.

Senior.—Did he ever read?

Coachman.—I have known him sometimes try to read a French novel, but he would be two hours getting through a page—once or twice I saw him attempt to write. His letters were half an inch high, like those of a child's copybook; I don't think that he ever finished a sentence.

Senior.—Does he take any exercise?

Coachman.—None, except driving about in his carriages. He comes out of his hareem about eight or nine in the morning, smokes till he takes his drive, and when that is over he returns to his hareem, and does not show himself again until the next morning.

Senior.—What sort of a man is he in appearance?

Coachman.—Mean; about five feet two inches high, and not strong for his size.

Rapid degeneracy, physical and moral, seems to characterise a Mussulman dynasty.

MALTA.

Saturday, March 15, 1856. *Morrell's Hotel.*—We left Alexandria at noon on the 11th, and anchored in the Quarantine Harbour before ten yesterday. Our ship was the *Alma,* one of the Peninsular and Oriental Company's boats, a screw of 2300 tons, 320 feet long, and about 35 broad. Her length in proportion to her breath gives her great speed, but occasions her to roll awfully when there is any wind. For the first two days it was calm, and she was steady, but it blew a little on the third. I said to one of the officers that I slept ill, as I was employed in trying to keep in bed. "I," he said, "was rolled out of my berth twice during the night; but what you have experienced is nothing to what the *Alma* can do when there is a real gale." She is so clean, however, so large, so swift and so well-managed, that whenever I can I shall go by her, though at the risk of being rolled out of bed.

We have excellent apartments at Morrell's Hotel, the best and also the cheapest that I have met with

since I left England. It is a great contrast to the hotels of Egypt and, indeed, of France. We dined to day with the Governor, Sir William Reid, who inhabits the vast palace of the Grand Master. The party was large, and, with the exception of Dr. Dingli, the Crown Advocate,* was military or naval.

The Governor and Dr. Dingli both expressed great interest in the success of Lesseps' Canals. They believe that they will be useful to Malta in many different ways, as increasing its trade, as rendering it, even more than it is now, an *entrepôt* between Europe and Asia, and as affording on the land to be acquired by the company a field for Maltese emigration. "It will not be necessary," said the Governor, "to encourage them to go—it will be impossible to keep them back. Malta is rather a town than a country. It does not produce more than one-third of the food of its population. But it is free from the unhealthiness of towns. On its dry soil and in its pure air children live. All classes marry early; and if we have not the outlet of emigration we soon suffer from over-population. The Maltese speak what may be called Punic Arabic. An African climate suits them. They swarm over Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and

* Sir Adrian Dingli is now Chief Justice of Malta.—Ed.

Egypt; you will not find them die out, as all other colonists will do, on the banks of the Fresh-water Canal. They will form a colony extending from Cairo to Suez. I hope that no opposition on our part will retard the commencement of a work which, besides its peculiar usefulness to Malta, will, I trust, benefit the whole empire, politically as well as commercially."

Sunday, March 16.—Dr. Sciortino* called on us. His father, who died about three months ago, was the most eminent barrister and one of the most celebrated men in the island. The son, wishing for a wider field than Malta, fixed himself, a couple of years ago, in London, and began to practise before the Privy Council in matters involving the law which prevails on the shores of the Mediterranean. The illness of his father brought him back to Malta, and his death put him, at the age of twenty-nine, at the head of a family consisting of a mother and three sisters. The father left a small fortune, but a large legal connection, and the son, though not very fond either of law or of Malta, has taken up his father's business—at least as much of it as he can retain—and finds himself at present rather

* Dr. Sciortino died some years ago.—Ed.

over-worked. This, however, is Passion Week, and the courts will not sit after Tuesday.

He feels the same interest as the Governor in the Suez Canals, and on the same grounds. If the Irrigation Canal offers a field for emigration, he is inclined to form a society for the purpose of encouraging and facilitating it.

Monday, March 17.—I have been examining the Census of Malta and its dependency Gozo, and M. Ciglio's commentary on it. Malta contains ninety-five square miles, Gozo twenty. On the 31st of March, 1851, the population of Malta was 108,883, that of Gozo 14,663; in all 123,546, giving 1,146 to the square mile in Malta and 733 in Gozo. The population to a square mile in England is 300, so that Malta is about four times as populous as England, and Gozo is more than twice so. These 123,546 persons are divided into 29,400 families, or hearths, giving about four to a family. The number of inhabited dwellings in Malta is 21,483, giving about five to a house, and in Gozo 3628, giving about four to a house. For a town population, which that of Malta is, this is an unusually favourable proportion. I do not believe that there is

a town in England in which there is a house to every five persons.

The average annual number of births during the nine years ending March 31, 1851, was 4,238, or one in 29; the deaths were 3165, or one in 40; the marriages 877, or one in 137; so that the births are 4·7 to a marriage. These are the elements of a rapidly increasing population, and the actual increase between 1842 and 1851 was 9000, or 1000 a year.

The return contains an abstract of the immigration and emigration during those nine years, which shows that during that period the emigrant Maltese exceeded the Maltese who returned to the island by only 1415; and yet I found Maltese emigrants numerous in Algeria and in Egypt, and I am told that they are still more numerous in Tunis, Tripoli and Constantinople. Probably they emigrated at an earlier time, when the island was less prosperous. This seems to be also indicated by the fact that the excess of emigration consists of 1033 women and only 382 men. The women probably went out to join their husbands. The nobles are returned as 242; the gentry as 1031. I asked M. Ciglio, the superintendent of the Census, and the author of the commentary

on it, whether these numbers represented families or individuals.

"Individuals," he answered. "There are not above 60 noble families, and not above 260 of gentry—meaning by gentry persons of independent fortunes, not engaged in business or in professions."

The advocates are 160; the physicians are 106; the Catholic clergy are 1022, of whom 750 are secular, 257 are regulars, and 15 are Jesuits. The persons employed in the government offices form the largest among the professional classes. They are 745, of whom only 30 are females; as none are returned as under fifteen years old, the 715 males are apparently heads of families. The persons attending schools and other places of instruction are returned at 5681, of whom 3181 are males and 2500 are females; of these only 4058 are between the ages of four and fifteen. The whole number of children between the ages of four and fifteen is 25,083, so that of those who require education only one-sixth receive it.

The number of those who can read Italian is 11,657, that of those who can read English 4518. The former number may be taken to represent all who can read—for the Maltese *patois* is not written, and no one

can read English who cannot also read the written language of the country, which is Italian.

The number of those who can speak Italian is 14,061, that of those who can speak English 6861. Almost all who can read English or Italian can write it.

The general result, however, is that not one-twentieth part of the population can read, and that, though we have held the island for fifty years, not one person in seventeen can speak English, and not more than one in eight can speak any language except an unwritten *patois*. Perhaps this lamentable defect of education may be connected with the presence and influence of 1022 Roman Catholic clergy, or a clergyman to every thirty families.

I am told that two-thirds of the land and houses are in mortmain, one-third being in the hands of the Government, and the other third in those of the Church. And of the remaining one-third, which belongs to private persons, a portion is subject to perpetual entail. Land, therefore, is rarely in the market.

Saturday, March 22.—I walked with Sciortino round the Quarantine Harbour, through Sliema to the fine bold coast of St. Julian's Bay. A south-east wind drove the

breakers over the rocky headlands in vast masses of spray. The country all around the road is undulating; never rising high, but never level. A few—sometimes very few—inches below the surface is the rock. This thin stratum of soil is in constant danger of being washed away by the rain of a southern climate. To protect it, the fields are built up by stone walls into a succession of terraces. The walls are high enough to conceal, at a short distance, the flat strips of ground within them. So that, unless when you look down from a hill, you see nothing but grey wall over wall. There is no grass, no hedge, no tree except sometimes a solitary olive or palm, or the cypresses which rise over the lofty garden walls. Churches of the gaudiest Renaissance architecture; great domes behind shallow porticoes with heavy pinnacles on each side of them, are everywhere dotted about, and the suburb of one town almost joins that of the next. During the greater part of the ten days that we have been here the sky has been overcast and the atmosphere heavy. To-day it is as dark, and about as cold, as a London November day.

The contrast between Egypt and Malta is striking. In Egypt we had perpetual sunshine, a flat expanse of the greenest cultivation, intersected only by avenues of

palms, sycamores, and acacias, bounded on each side by the glowing desert, and divided by the Nile. Everything there, except the Nile and the desert, was green. Everything here, except the sea, is grey.

I begged Sciortino to draw for me a sketch of Maltese society.

Sciortino.—The 300 families which the Census calls nobility and gentry must be left out of it. They are below the average in intelligence, in cultivation, and even in wealth. They have neither public duties nor political influence. Their prejudices prevent their putting their sons into professions. They vegetate, poor and idle and solitary.

At the top, then, of our society are the advocates and judges. They are the most intelligent and the most active; after them come the physicians, and the few officers of our Maltese regiment, and then the large body, always holding together, of public officers. There the native higher society ends. The ecclesiastics mix little in it, and are seldom fitted for it by birth or education. The merchants are excluded.

There is also a large English society, but that keeps apart. Few of the Maltese speak English or French fluently, and few of the English like to talk Italian.

And the separation occasioned by dissimilarity of language is widened by diversity of religion and of education, and by some jealousy on our part of your superior wealth.*

The practice of every lady having an evening at which she receives, without invitation, all who visit her, does not exist in Malta. All our evening society is by invitation. This has a tendency to render society expensive. An evening party, being only an occasional thing, is got up with more trouble and cost than if it occurred once a week.

Senior.—With my continental recollections, the first question that I asked was, what was Lady Reid's evening, and I was surprised to find that she had none.

Sciortino.—I think that Lady Reid does well in not having one. She could not receive all who would wish to go, and she could draw no line that would not offend. If the officials were let in, the merchants would clamour for admission, and then would come the shopkeepers. In a small society like this, with no great interests to keep it in healthy excitement, envy and jealousy are the predominant passions.

* I am told that the two races mix much more in society than they used to do.—Ed.

Lady Reid's parties would be an apple of discord. A person in the situation of a Governor may be intimate with five or six persons, but not with fifty. The five or six would be considered his friends, and would excite little jealousy. No one would fancy that he had a right to complain that he was not one of them. But if the number admitted to intimacy, or even to familiarity, were large, every one that did not belong to it would think himself injured. Mrs. Austin* tried to be intimate with all the best people. It made her very unpopular.

There is great uniformity in the general scale of expense. This is convenient to the rich, but distressing to the poor; it produces a low maximum, but a high minimum. Few families spend more than £500 or £600 a year; but it is difficult to live respectably

* Mr. John Austin, the well-known writer on Jurisprudence, and Sir George Cornewall Lewis were appointed in 1837 Royal Commissioners for inquiring into the grievances of the natives of Malta. "It cannot be disputed," says a Maltese newspaper, "that the inhabitants of this island are greatly advanced in the scale of civilisation, both politically and socially, and rendered more essentially British in civil polity and institutions by the measures adopted on the recommendation of the Commission presided over by Mr. Austin." His wife, to whose efforts at promoting intercourse between the English and Maltese frequent allusion is made in this Journal, was the admirable translator of Ranke's 'History of the Popes,' and other works—a lady as distinguished in society as she was in literature.—Ed.

on less than £400. The cheapest thing in Malta is house-rent. Our building materials are excellent and abundant, labour is cheap, and our masons are good. A good house may be built for £1000. A good one can be rented for £30 or £40 in Valetta, and for £25 or £20 in the country. Our house, with three large drawing-rooms, a dining-room, a library, and a study on the first floor, and a pretty garden, in the very best part of Valetta, lets for £64 a year. It is, however, a government house, and was let to my father at rather less than its value in consideration of the money which he laid out on it.

Easter Sunday, March 23.—I walked for a couple of hours with Dr. Dingli, the Crown Advocate, on the bastions of St. Elmo. The small outwork heroically defended by the Knights has disappeared among the new works. St. Elmo is now a citadel occupying the extreme point of Valetta, and covered on all sides. We talked about the constitution introduced by More O'Ferrall in 1849.

The whole legislative power is vested in the Governor and a Council of eighteen members, of whom eight are elected, and the remaining ten, one

of whom is the Governor, are nominated by the Crown. The persons selected are generally the holders of the highest offices. I asked if such a constitution did not split the Council into two parties—the elected members always opposing the Governor and the nominated members.

Dingli.—That is the case on all questions which interest the public. But those are personal questions, or local ones. We are a municipality, not a country. The management of the public lands—whether they shall be let on long or short leases, whether at rack rent or on repairing leases; whether a given sum of money shall be spent on a road, or on the harbour, or on a school—these are party questions. But great legislative measures are not attended to out of doors, and therefore are discussed impartially, and decided according to the best judgment of the members. We have just framed a Criminal Code. Only one portion of it excited any debate. That was the chapter relating to offences against religion. And the matter on which there was a difference of opinion was not the definition of the offence or the apportioning of the punishment, but merely whether, when the Roman Catholic religion was mentioned, the words

describing it as the dominant religion in Malta, should be inserted in a parenthesis. Long and fierce debates ensued; a vacancy having occurred among the elected members, the candidates pledged themselves to the parenthesis. At last the parenthesis was carried, with the concurrence of some of the official members; but such remonstrances against it were sent to England that the Imperial Government thought it the safest plan to omit the whole chapter, parenthesis and all; and now offences against religion are not mentioned in the Code—an omission which I found inconvenient the other day, when I had to prosecute two young officers who had intruded into a church and disturbed the congregation. Luckily they carried prohibited weapons, and resisted the police in the execution of their duty. They were convicted of those offences; but their real offence, the insulting the religion of the country, is, under the present Code, unpunished.

The general result is that the elected members have a veto; nothing is done which they oppose. But, as their opposition is confined to matters of local detail, the institution works well. It popularises, and it informs the Government.

The principal error in our system is that the Governor does too much. Your description of the Viceroy of Egypt puts me in mind of him—not in character, for a kinder, a more industrious, a more prudent, a more liberal, or more strictly just and impartial man than Sir William Reid cannot be found—but in over-interference. A question goes first to the Secretary; he sends it to the Crown Advocate, the Crown Advocate sends it back to the Secretary, and then the Secretary refers it to the Governor. Thus every subordinate officer escapes responsibility, and generally escapes even the trouble of coming to a decision.

I wish to see the heads of departments forced to exercise their own judgment and discretion. I wish that the Governor were absent for three or four months every summer. Things might not go on quite so well during the first or the second time of his absence, but they would go on all the better afterwards. Our people would be trained to go a little alone.

Senior.—My maxim in business, in administration, even in literature, is "*Ne facias per te quod facere potes per alium.*" The things which *cannot* be done for you are so many that it is only by concentrating your

attention on them that you can give to them sufficient time.

Dingli.—The Governor's maxim, and it was that of his predecessor, seems to be "*Ne facias per alium quod facere potes per te.*" And it is to be said in favour of their maxim that, with one exception, they have been incomparably the best Governors that we have had. But I think that they would have been still better if they had attended to fewer things.

Senior.—Who was the one exception?

Dingli.—Sir Thomas Maitland. But I am not sure that he would have done for these times. He was a bold destroyer and organiser, fit for the troubled waters in which he had to swim; he might have been less fit for a calm.

Thursday, March 27.—We dined with the Sciortinos. I complained of the weather; we have now been a fortnight in Malta, and have scarcely seen the sun. The wind has generally been north-east or south-east. The first is called *gregale*, the second *sirocco*. Both are disagreeable, and both bring fog and rain. The thermometer in the hall seldom rises above 58°. Of course we have fires, but even with them we can

scarcely keep ourselves warm. Out of doors we are blown away.

The climate of Malta, they said, is bad during six months. March and April are cold, windy, and often wet; July, August, September, and October are painfully hot. It is impossible to go out during the day, and difficult to sleep during the night. You feel too languid and exhausted for work, bodily or mental. June, July, August, and September are the months for flies and mosquitos.

Sciortino.—I do not know which of them are the worst. Water and trees, which ought to be your consolations in summer, attract them. They make the seaside intolerable; the Governor's beautiful garden at St. Antonio swarms with them. The oranges and lemons with which it is filled require water, and wherever there is water the mosquito lays its eggs. The egg sinks, becomes a worm, then a fish; and in two months flies out and attacks you. I have often been forced to rise in the night and go out into the garden to escape them. They do not follow you in the dark. The rains of September destroy them, and from that time until the middle of May few are to be found in houses near which there is not water in which they

can breed, or refuse on which they can feed; but wherever there are open tanks—and most of the Maltese houses have tanks in which the rain of winter is preserved for summer use—and wherever there is manure (in the neighbourhood, for instance, of stables) they are found during the whole year. There are no mosquitos now in this house, but we are afraid to enter that of my uncle Gatt after the candles are lighted. There are stables and trees near it.

Friday, March 28.—We breakfasted on board the *Prince Jerôme*, a hundred-gun French ship. Her crew now consists of only 600 men, as she is going to the Crimea to bring back 1200 soldiers, to accommodate whom her upper battery has been removed; but for war she requires 1000 men. She is short and broad, and must be steady and formidable in action, but slow. Her steam power is 600 horses. Her two superior officers are intelligent, gentlemanlike men.

I afterwards walked with Mr. Gatt—who is an officer in the Malta Fencibles, the only regular native force—over the works on the south of the town. The Cottonera lines, which encircle the whole, must be a couple of miles long.

Gatt.—They were intended as a vast enclosure to receive the whole population of Malta if an enemy should occupy the island in force. They are all open towards the town, and we have strengthened the inner lines of defence which command them. The new barracks, St. Angelo and Ricasoli, are citadels, and capable of an independent defence.

We walked over St. Angelo. It has four tiers of batteries commanding the entrance to the harbour, but armed only with 24-pounders. An engineer officer whom we found there told us that they were to be changed for 68-pounders, a change much to be desired as respects the greater part of the defences. When I compare the guns at Malta to those which I saw on the batteries of Algiers, these look like popguns.

Gatt is a Fusionist. He wishes to assimilate Malta to England: to have the English language, the English laws, and as far as possible, the English Constitution. He objects, for instance, to the presence of the Governor in the Council.

Gatt.—He has no more business there than the Queen has in the English Cabinet or in the House of Commons.

Senior.—That would be true if your Governor were analogous to our Queen; but, in fact, he is analogous to our Prime Minister.

Gatt.—He ought not to be so. We ought to have an elective Council, and our Prime Minister ought to be the man who can command a majority in it.

Senior.—Such a government might be good if the object were to give you quasi-independence. But we do not intend that you shall ever be independent—we want your port and your fortress. Nor could you, in the present state of Europe, preserve your independence if we gave it to you. You grumble at having to contribute £6000 a year to your own defence. What would you say if the whole burthen of it were cast on you? If we were to loose our hold on you, you would fall to France or to Naples, or perhaps to Russia.

Gatt.—At all events, we might have something more real than this phantom of a Council of eighteen members, of whom ten are nominees: the elected members should at least be more numerous than the nominees.

Senior.—If they were, they would be a permanent opposition which would stop all legislation, unless the Governor had the means of influencing them. And

what means could he have, except places and patronage? I suspect that a government using as its instrument a bought majority would be more irritating than one using a majority of nominees.

Can you give me any more grievances?

Gatt.—Oh, yes, plenty. In the first place, the only native military force is my regiment of Malta Fencibles, and an unpaid Militia. The Militia ought to be regularly called out and exercised at certain periods. It would not cost much, and it would give you a native force which, with works demanding a much larger garrison than you usually keep here, you may find necessary.

As for the Malta Fencibles, they are worse paid than any British troops, are confined to the island, have no rank in the British army, and no prospect of advancement. When we petitioned to be allowed to go on foreign service, they offered to send us to Hong Kong. What we wish is to be considered as a part of the British army; to be allowed to purchase and exchange into British regiments, to keep our depot in Malta, but to be allowed to serve wherever a British regiment serves, in England, Ireland and Scotland, and India, as well as in Hong Kong. While we are at home we

ought perhaps to be contented with Maltese pay; though as respects the privates' pay, that having been fixed when wages were much lower than they are now, is not high enough to enable us to get the best men, or indeed to get a sufficiency of any men. But when out of Malta we ought to be put on the same footing as the rest of the army. Then we think that some of the staff appointments in the island ought to be open to us. Open indeed they are; but we are never called to fill them. Again, there are about half-a-dozen other offices, the principal ones in the island, which are not even open to us. Why should a Maltese be incapable of being an auditor of public accounts, or a Chief Secretary? If he be fit for it, why should he be incapable of being Governor? You need not appoint him Governor or Secretary—but why disqualify him? What I wish is to see a Maltese treated in every respect as an Englishman. I am anxious, too, to see a larger sum devoted to education, particularly to the highest of all educations, a knowledge of England. A few exhibitions founded for the purpose of sending some of our most distinguished students to study in the Universities of London, or Dublin, or Edinburgh, or to pass some years in the Inns of Court, would cement the union

between England and Malta; and we might in time cease to look on you as dominant foreigners, known to us chiefly by your naval and military officers and your travellers, who are not perhaps the most favourable specimens of Englishmen.

Saturday, March 29.—The Governor called on us, and I read to him the notes of my conversations with Dr. Dingli and Captain Gatt.

*Reid.**—Dingli did not begin at the beginning of all the difficulties of that portion of the Criminal Code which regarded religion. There were at first clauses which awarded to offences against the Roman Catholic religion a double punishment. These clauses, and the parenthesis, were supported by all the Roman Catholic members (Dingli, who was then an elected member, included) with one exception, which was Micalli, formerly a Crown Advocate, and now a judge and a member by my nomination. We, the nominees, threw out the double punishment, but were forced to leave the parenthesis. The matter was discussed in the House of Commons; Lord John Russell found that he

* The copy from which these conversations are printed is corrected in Sir William Reid's own handwriting.—Ed.

could not support the parenthesis against Exeter Hall, and he proposed to send back the Code to us for revision. I earnestly requested him, instead of doing so, to exercise the power (reserved in the letters patent which created the constitution) of legislating for the island by an Order in Council. This was done: the Code was enacted by an Order in Council, the whole chapter on religion being omitted, and was received without further agitation.

As to Dingli's remark that too much is done by the Governor, it is quite true. I am trying to check the tendency in the heads of departments to throw all responsibility on the Governor. I have directed a note to be made of the questions which they have refused to decide.

Dingli's picture, too, of the Council is correct. Our sittings are open to the public and to the reporters; and the elected members speak much more to them than to their colleagues. Our two elements of political capital are religion and trade. A candidate for popularity may court the Jesuits and priests, or the merchants and shopkeepers.

One of our great misfortunes, and it is one common to us with most parts of the Continent, is the number

of young men who have received what they suppose to be a learned education, who are without fortune, and for whom there is no room in professions. They are too proud for work, and not enterprising enough, or indeed sufficiently informed, to seek their fortunes abroad. I showed to some of them the examination-papers of the East India Company, but they turned from them in despair. "No Maltese," they said, "could answer such questions."

They are the candidates for our public service, and spend their time in the coffee-houses, talking local politics, and planning liberal constitutions for the independent republic of Malta. There have been questions as to what is to be their national flag—white and red, I think, are preferred, as the colours of some ancient Grand Master. The other day I asked a candidate for a place what was his profession. "A politician," he answered.

For this evil I see but two remedies; they are those which we apply with success in Scotland. One is to abandon the prejudice that a well-educated man lowers himself by becoming a tradesman. In Scotland a father gives to his son the very best education that he can, and the son takes to the profession or trade or

work—even manual work—in which he finds the best opening. I often tell the Maltese, who think that for an educated man to engage in trade is *déroger*, that Talfourd worked as a journeyman mason. If the well-educated young Scotchman finds no opening at home, he takes to the other expedient, emigration.

The Maltese have a peculiar advantage on all the coast of Northern Africa: they speak a dialect of Arabic. Enjoying, too, British protection, they are more favourably placed for business or public employment than the natives themselves.

Senior.—I found in Egypt the protected persons forming the real aristocracy of the country. They are the only persons who are safe.

Reid.—The Maltese emigrants ought to be recommended by the Home Government to our consuls as the objects of their special care and protection. They would form an English party, or an English interest, in all those countries, which in some contingencies would be very valuable to us.

Senior.—I hear complaints that some of the consuls treat the Maltese emigrants as nuisances, and defend themselves by saying that they are generally bad characters. I am told that our consul at Tunis

encouraged the Bey in laying an especial tax on them.

Reid.—That is true, and we had to remonstrate, and to obtain the interference of the Home Government to get the tax removed. It is true that at present the persons with the worst characters, and who are too well-known at home, emigrate most readily; but I wish facilities to be given which may induce the good characters to emigrate too. To return to my illustration of Scotland, the Scotch who go are not inferior to the Scotch who stay.

Senior.—It seems to me that Gatt's scheme of exhibitions or scholarships at any of our universities—such as London, Dublin, or Edinburgh—which do not exclude Roman Catholics, might be useful, both as providing for a certain number of young men, as inducing others to follow, and as stimulating all the pupils. One might be given every year to the young man who, morally and intellectually, was on the whole the most distinguished. If they were held for four years, the expense would be £1000 a year. A further advantage of such a measure would be the promotion of the English language.

Reid.—I shall see such exhibitions or scholarships

with great pleasure, if we can procure the necessary funds. In general our elected Councillors are ready to vote money. They do not estimate the difficulty of raising it. If I were to propose to double the lower salaries of all our public servants, it would be carried by acclamation.

I often regret my little Bermuda Parliament. There, from a population of about ten thousand souls, we had a House of Assembly diligent, well informed, and candid, which might have governed an empire.

Senior.—Did you let in the public?

Reid.—No, not into the Council. The House of Assembly was open, but no one went thither.

Senior.—I found, when I was Master in Chancery, that the attorneys, without an audience, were generally fair and reasonable; but that the barristers, each with his attorney watching him, and perhaps with the client behind, were often grasping, unscrupulous, and litigious. Perhaps your Bermuda Assembly owed half its merit to the absence of an audience.

Reid.—Perhaps so; I find that when I converse with the elected members separately they are reasonable. Your view is supported by the fact that the West Indian was not better—indeed was worse—than the

Maltese press. One paper proposed, pretty nearly in words, my assassination. But it did no harm, nor does the bad portion of the Maltese press. The better Maltese papers are very useful. They often give me valuable information and advice.

Senior.—What do you think of Gatt's plans as to the Maltese regiment and the Militia.

Reid.—I approve of them; I have been endeavouring to persuade the Home Government to call out the Militia periodically, and to pay them. And I think that the Maltese regiment ought to be put on the footing of a British one. It would add little to our expenses, and it would open a new career to the portion of the Maltese who most want one, the gentry.

Senior.—If you were Colonial Secretary, and had to choose a Governor for Malta, would you take a military man or a civilian?

Reid.—I would have always a civil Governor. Malta is both a province and a fortress. Its military interests are cared for by the commander of the forces, the engineer, and the admiral; the troops should be always under a general. The general and the troops are under the Crown. Perched as we are on this rock, thousands of miles from home, and the objects of the

jealousy and covetousness of all our neighbours, our first care must always be that of our safety. But even our safety may depend on the good-will of our Maltese fellow-subjects. Everything that, consistently with our safety, we can do for them, and all that they can do for themselves, ought to be promoted and encouraged, and done. I have mentioned to you some instances of the pedantry of the engineers; I could mention more.

We afterwards called on Mrs. H——. We talked of the want of fusion of the Maltese and English.

Mrs. H——.—It is not that the Maltese are unwilling to visit the English, or the English to receive the Maltese. But the Maltese will not open their houses to *us*. I have lived here for more than forty years; my Maltese visitors are numerous, but I never can penetrate into a Maltese house. They are proud, they are poor, and they fancy that we attach to the appearance of wealth much greater importance than we really do. Then they indulge in a slatternly negligence which is really unfit for our inspection. Mrs. Austin, who was anxious to cultivate them, met at my house a Maltese lady who pleased her much.

The next day she called on her new acquaintance. The door was opened by a dirty servant, who ran off in a hurry to inform her mistress. Mrs. Austin waited half-an-hour, and the mistress appeared, very smart. But Mrs. Austin detected in her the *soi-disante* servant who had opened the door.

In fact, Maltese incomes are so small that the attempt to keep up the appearances which the English think only decent, becomes a ruinous expense; £10 a year extra in dress, £10 in furniture, £10 in tea and lights and waiters, would be to many families an imprudence; they cannot receive us without incurring these expenses, and, partly from economy and partly from indolence, they do not receive at all.

The increase in the number of English residents, too, has been unfavourable to the Maltese. Formerly you could not fill your rooms without them; now the English are so numerous that they are independent of the Maltese. Those who like crowds can collect them of their own country-people. When you consider that the Maltese do not invite hospitality by returning it, that many of them speak little or no English, and that they have in general less instruction and less experience and knowledge of the world than

the English, you will not be surprised at their mixing less with us than is desirable both for our sakes and for theirs.

Monday, March 31.—The Governor mounted me, and we rode round Valetta and its fortified suburb Floriana.

Reid.—The land face of Valetta, with its lofty bastions and cavaliers, and its wide and deep ditch cut in the rock, deserves the admiration which it has received. What it wants is armament. For many years it was utterly neglected. The heaviest guns are 24-pounders; their carriages are old, their platforms are out of repair, the wheels of the gun-carriages would probably break after a few discharges. Even many of the parapets are crumbling away. When I came here, three years and a-half ago, Valetta looked like a dismantled place. Floriana was still worse. Half the defences had ceased to be used for military purposes. A hospital containing 500 paupers was established at the north-east angle. Lower down on the curtain was the female prison, and fine ladies had settled themselves on the bastions, which were let to them. The most vulnerable point in the land defences is the south-east

angle of Floriana, which is commanded by the higher ground on the other side of the Quarantine Harbour. Here Lady Julia Lockwood had erected a charming house on one bastion, and had turned another and the ditch into a terraced garden. The garrison could not trespass on their own works without her leave. I resolved in the first place to put the garrison in possession of their own fortifications. But the ladies and the poor set me at defiance. The poor still keep their hold, and I doubt whether they will be removed in my time. I beat the ladies, but after a hard battle. In fact, I set my government on this issue of the contest. I said to myself that I would resign unless the works were restored to the garrison, and I was supported at home. But Lady Julia sustained a siege of a year and a-half.

We began our ride by the fortifications which protect the entrance to the Great Harbour.

The principal of these are St. Elmo, Ricasoli and St Angelo. Of these St. Elmo has been recently repaired and re-armed, and closed towards the town. We did not enter it to-day, but it is my usual morning's walk. I do not believe that much is wanting to it. Ricasoli I have seen only from a distance. The Governor pointed

out to me that it is commanded by the higher ground above it, and that the promontory Bighi, on which the Naval Hospital is built, is unfortified, and looks straight on the gate, and on the weakest side of Ricasoli. He thinks some works at Bighi necessary, and also some further defences on the Bighi side of Riscasoli. St. Angelo I have already mentioned. It is to be re-armed.

On the whole, the Governor doubts whether in their present state the defences of the Great Harbour are sufficient either to prevent a powerful steam fleet from entering it, or to destroy that fleet when it had got in. "The admiral," he said, "remarked to me the other day that if he had to fight in the upper part of the harbour, which is the safest anchorage, the town would scarcely be able to turn twenty guns to support him."

A new battery is now in construction above the Custom House, where the rock projects into the sea, and a house and garden stood which its owner defended as pertinaciously as Lady Julia. With this battery, the additions at Bighi and Ricasoli, and a new armament of heavy guns, the Governor thinks that the Great Harbour may be made safe—that is to say, that it may be made impossible to enter it, except by a surprise, or to hold it when entered.

We then crossed the peninsula to the Quarantine Harbour. The defences of this are St. Elmo and—on the other side of the water—Fort Tigne and Fort Manuel. I have visited neither of these, but the Governor told me that they were neither strong nor well-armed.

The sea-defences of Valetta are stronger and better armed on this side of the peninsula than on the other.

We then rode to Floriana, and walked over the Capucin convent, which is built just within its southern face. In the vaults below the convent are excavations in which each Capucin on his death is immured for a year. He is then taken out, nearly in the state of a mummy, the softer parts having evaporated. He is dressed in his habit, and placed in a niche in a long gallery. About a hundred of these ghastly forms grinned at us from their niches, and in consequence of the dryness of the atmosphere will probably stand there for a century to come. A brother died and was immured two days ago.

The Superior and one or two of the brothers, one of whom was a novice in the times of the Knights, accompanied us. They showed us their cells, neat and comfortably furnished, and commanding, as is the case with all the Capucin convents that I have seen, delightful

prospects. I know of no better choosers of picturesque situations than the Capucins. St. Elmo at Naples, the convent at Turin, the Mönchberg of Salzburg, and the convent above Lucerne, are fine specimens of their taste.

They were gentlemanlike men, clean and sleek, not soured by any austerity. The old monk brought out from a closet some rich cake and Rosolio, obviously part of his own store, which we found excellent. Ever since we have been masters of the island we have contemplated the possibility of having to pull down this convent in order to strengthen the fortifications, and have exacted a shilling a year quit rent as an admission of our right to do so. This has been a constant source of anxiety to the Capucins and to the public of Valetta and Floriana, with whom the Capucins, from their diligence as confessors and as visitors of the sick, are popular. Sir William Reid does not believe that the site of the convent can be wanted, and has remitted the shilling. Of this, however, the monks apparently had not been informed, for when we congratulated them on their situation, they answered that they wished that they were secure in it. Whereupon Sir William assured them that they were secure; that, as evidence that they would never be disturbed, the shilling was

remitted, and that he trusted that if ever Floriana had to defend itself, the Capucins would form a regiment with the Superior for its colonel. Of course they were all gratitude and loyalty.

From the convent we crossed the peninsula to the north-western face, and walked over the Civil Hospital. It has only one story, and, as this climate allows a thorough draught, the air in all the rooms was perfectly pure. The patients were in bed, clean and placid. There was no external evidence of disease. We then went to the poorhouse, where the casements and vaulted apartments under the bastions and curtains, and indeed some of the bastions, are still occupied by the paupers. The atmosphere was much worse than that of the hospital.

We looked at the site of Lady Julia's house, and her pretty garden, now a wilderness, and her little Gothic summer-houses, built on the ramparts.

"We used to hear," said the Governor, "stories of her wonderful cellars. When we were admited to them we found that they consisted of an extensive system of mines. The Knights, aware of the weakness of this angle, had prepared the means of blowing it up when in an enemy's hands."

Nothing has been done as yet to strengthen it. From the fortifications our conversation passed to the harbour.

Reid.—Both harbours, being surrounded by high lands of crumbling stone, from which the rains wash down sand and mud in abundance, are liable to be filled unless kept clear by constant dredging. This was attended to by the Knights, but has been neglected ever since our occupation. For many years it was totally omitted. The head of the Great Harbour, where there was once deep water and room for a fleet of ships of the line, can scarcely now float a fishing-boat. The same is the case with the two heads of the Quarantine Harbour. This is the more to be regretted as these are among the safest parts of the two harbours. Each harbour is open to our most violent wind, the *gregale*, or north-east; and when it blows strongly, and the upper parts of the harbours are full, the ships which are forced to anchor in the lower portions are sometimes driven from their moorings and wrecked against the rocks, or against one another. The island now spends £2000 a year in dredging. I have asked for £2000 a year more from home. This will be enough to prevent further damage, but, considering the great and growing importance of

the port of Malta, we ought not only to preserve what remains, but also to restore it to its original capacity and safety. Another thing wanted is warehouse-room. Our engineers, following an ancient maxim, prohibit all new buildings within 600 yards of the guns. I wish storehouses, both for military purposes and for trade, to be erected along the shore beyond Floriana. They are within the 600 yards. I have demonstrated that they cannot interfere with the defences; but I have not prevailed as yet. They entrench themselves within their maxim. My answer is, that we hold Malta for the sake of its port, and in great measure through the goodwill of its inhabitants, who helped us to get it. Now these storehouses are necessary to the port, both for the use of the arsenal and for that of the trade. To sacrifice our own convenience and that of the inhabitants to a maxim is pedantry.

Senior.—What is the garrison which these vast works require?

Reid.—With the assistance of the inhabitants I think that they might be defended by 6000 men. As the Board of Ordnance arms both our fortifications and our fleets, we employ for both the same guns and the same ammunition. This gives us an advantage over the

French, who use different calibres at sea and on land, and cannot apply naval stores to military purposes. We can, and we could therefore strengthen our defences and repair our losses from the naval stores in the arsenal.

Senior.—The dock seems to me small. There is room for only one ship.

Reid.—It is to be doubled in size, but even then it will be small. At present it cannot take in the *Himalaya*.

Senior.—Was there much foundation for Cobden's complaint that our Mediterranean fleet was kept idle in the harbour of Malta?

Reid.—The complaint was well founded. The admiral at the time to which he referred was much fonder of his desk than of his quarter-deck. He stayed in port, and wrote long reports. His excuse was that rough weather would have worn out his ships. Of course it would; but what are ships made for but to be worn out, that is to say, to be used? On the other hand, it would have given practice and confidence to his sailors. By staying in port he saved his ships, but spoilt his men; and, as men are much more important than ships, I hold that Cobden was quite right in

substance, though he was guilty of some exaggeration, and made some mistakes in details which gave the defenders of the admiral an advantage in the debate.

Tuesday, April 1.—I walked with Sciortino over Corradino, a promontory running into the Great Harbour on the south-west. It belongs to the Crown, and the Government proposes to let it on building leases, as the site of an addition to the town.

Sciortino prefers Sliema, on the north of the Quarantine Harbour. He admits that Sliema is rather more distant from Valetta, especially from the commercial part of it; but he says that Corradino is gloomy and disliked by the Maltese, and that he fears that they will not take to it, whereas they are most anxious to build on Sliema.

Whichever be selected, the head of the harbour below it must first be cleaned out, and deepened. At present the effluvia from the head of the Great Harbour, and that from the two heads of the Quarantine Harbour is offensive even in winter. In summer it must be horrible. I cannot believe it to be innocuous, even to the present town; one built immediately over it and round it would be pestilential.

Senior.—What are the great objects to which, if you were Governor of Malta, you would direct your attention?

Sciortino.—I would try to raise the morality of the people. It is already higher than that of our neighbours: than that of Naples, or Sicily, or Sardinia, or, of course, of Africa, and in some respects it can stand a comparison with that of England. The Maltese are sober and industrious, and, as far as theft is concerned, honest. But as respects the other part of honesty—that is to say, veracity—they are wofully deficient. They want energy, they want enterprise, they want curiosity, they want self-respect, they want attachment and gratitude. Two of my father's servants, who had been long in our service, left it as soon as his last illness became serious. They foresaw that there would be trouble during the remainder of his life and dulness afterwards. I do not think that the ties of family affection are so strong with us as they are with you.

Senior.—To supply these deficiencies is a magnificent attempt, but how is it to be set about?

Sciortino.—By improving both the primary and the higher education. Our primary schools, especially those in the country, are lamentable. They require inspection,

and small additional salaries to the masters and mistresses depending on the progress of the pupils. Something ought if possible to be done, and I think that something could be done, to improve the clergy. They are the real educators of the lower classes; reading, and even writing, are not education. They are only the means by which a person who has acquired a taste for instruction may improve himself; but our lower orders have no such taste. They never read, except on matters of business, after they have left school. And, as our primary schools teach nothing but reading and writing, I may fairly say that the mass of our people are uneducated.

Senior.—Are not the Jesuits good instructors?

Sciortino.—They take pains with those whom they hope to make Jesuits; all the rest they neglect or even depress. I would send them away. Zappetti, the most prominent among them, is striving to obtain popularity by irritating the worst passions and encouraging the worst propensities of his hearers. He is preaching asceticism, bigotry, intolerance, and everything that he thinks most anti-Protestant and anti-English. Some of his sermons against dancing and the other amusements which he chooses to call indecent are themselves

so full of indecencies that no modest woman ought to hear them.

Senior.—Now for your University.

Sciortino.—It is worse than even our schools. The dulness and ignorance of our priestly professors disgusted me with Latin and with all classical literature when I was a boy; it is with difficulty that I have got over my early associations. The new rector tells me that they are in no respect improved.

Senior.—How would you try to improve them?

Sciortino.—By secularising the institution. I would remove the worst of the priests, and make none but laymen professors. How can a priest, cut off from all the habits and charities of a family, who has been taught nothing but legends, and has been forbidden to exercise his judgment on the questions of most importance; whose reasoning faculties have been systematically compressed and distorted—how can such an intellectual dwarf and cripple infuse into his pupils high and generous principles, or stimulate their curiosity, or animate their courage, or even guide their taste?

Senior.—Could you get good laymen?

Sciortino.—You might, for at least some of the chairs. Few men could be more busy than my father, yet he

was Professor of Political Economy; he lectured twice a week in the evenings after his business in court was over.

Senior.—Who is professor now?

Sciortino.—The chair of Political Economy has been suppressed. Sir Patrick Stewart, who was then the Governor, and his advisers thought that it put dangerous notions into people's heads.

Another mode of elevating the people is to improve their dwellings. We have inherited our architecture from the Knights—rich bachelors who thought of nothing but an ornamental *façade* without, and one bedroom and three or four fine reception-rooms within. Our bedrooms, even for the family, are small and unwholesome; and as for the servants, they are thrust into a low ground-floor, or, when that is used by the family, into cellars. The Government is the great house proprietor. Most of the good houses and of the good building-ground belong to it. I would grant building and repairing leases according to plans providing good sleeping accommodation, especially for the servants. In time this would be copied in the houses which are private property; where it was not done it would be difficult to get good servants.

Thursday, April 3.—Dr. Dingli drank tea with us.

Dingli.—You have been in Malta for three weeks. What do you think of us?

Senior.—I think that you have no sun, that your sky is always grey, that your wind is north-east when it is not sirocco; that you have no trees, or hedges, or fields, or streams; but that you have a glorious sea, and that your north-east wind, though cold, has not the drying irritating effect of an English north-east wind.

Dingli.—As for the sun, in a few days you will have plenty of it; as for our winds, they are always cold in winter, unless when they come from the south-west, for towards every other quarter they blow over snowy mountains; but I wanted your remarks, not on the climate but on the people.

Senior.—The people appear to me to be, more than any others that I have seen, an old people: they have the prejudices, the caution, the want of enterprise, the petty cares and the narrow views of old age. They have a population far beyond the means of support afforded by the island, they have an old worn-out aristocracy, they have an ecclesiastical establishment out of all proportion to their population and to their wealth. They are poor, economical, indolent and proud.

I miss the sanguineness, the activity, the rashness, the speculation, the large gains and large expenditure, and still larger hopes of a younger society.

Dingli.—Many of those qualities, or of those defects, belong to us not as an old country, but as a little one. I believe that the mind shrinks as the sphere of its activity is circumscribed, and that those who live in a narrow society become narrow-minded. They attach what appears to you an undue importance to small things, because they have no great things to deal with.

Then much of our timidity in society arises from our imperfect acquaintance with the English language. We are afraid of being laughed at by you, and are still more afraid of being laughed at by other Maltese who speak better English. One of the evils of a small society is that everything that happens to anybody is known to everybody. If a Maltese lady has said to an English one "shall" for "will," or "will" for "shall," it is buzzed about over all Valetta.

I saw you in our Council-room yesterday. Did we talk or act like dotards ?

Senior.—No, indeed. I could not follow the speakers, but they seemed to me to speak well; they were fluent and animated, but temperate. But I saw only

four persons on the seats occupied by the elected members.

Dingli.—One of the absentees is merely indolent—the other three are ultra-Radicals, who profess always to vote against the Government, and have given up attendance because, as they complain, and I am happy to say with truth, they are always in a minority.

Senior.—The four who attend are, I suppose, enough to perform the duty of an Opposition.

Dingli.—Certainly; and that duty sometimes consists in voting against their real opinions. I do not believe that anything is ever carried against their wishes; but we are sometimes forced to persevere in opposition to their votes. An instance occurred a few months ago. The judges who sit in the Tribunal of Commerce have assessors, called consuls. They are approved by the Governor from a list submitted to him by the merchants. The custom was to approve of the whole list, and many of them were unfit. To force a selection, I proposed an ordinance not allowing the Governor to approve of more than three-fourths of the list. The merchants were indignant; all the elected members voted against the ordinance; but we passed it. The merchants thereupon refused to tender any list. I

proposed an ordinance enabling the judges, under such circumstances, to sit without consuls. Again all the elected members voted against it. But we carried it. They all afterwards admitted to me that they would not have voted against either of the ordinances if they had not known that they would be a minority.

Senior.—Sciortino thinks that one of the first measures to be taken to raise the character of the Maltese is to improve the University.

Dingli.—It is true that some of our professors are very inferior; but I do not see the way to any immediate improvement. We are not rich enough to buy them out, and public opinion would not allow us to dismiss them without a provision.

Senior.—What is the history of the suppression of the chair of Political Economy?

Dingli.—It was abolished soon after the Commissioners left the island. We had then a clique of old English public servants, who, as is generally the case with the English who have long resided in the island, were more *codini*, more prejudiced, and more retrograde than the stupidest Maltese. They were, of course, the enemies of the Commissioners, of Sciortino, who was their friend, and of political economy, which, as far as

they knew anything about it, they believed to be opposed to jobs. And jobs, in their opinion, were the purposes for which colonies were to be possessed. Sciortino wrote something in the papers which was unfavourable to the Governor, Sir Patrick Stewart. They persuaded Sir Patrick to dismiss him, and to put a gentleman in his place who was unequal to it. The professorship was shortly after suppressed.

Senior.—If length of residence turns the English into *codini*, it seems to be a pity that so important an office as that of the Chief Secretary should be permanent.

Dingli.—I think so too. He ought to have a longer tenure than the Governor; there ought always to be some one preserving the traditions of the office. But I would not let him remain more than ten years. Ten years in Malta are enough to spoil any man, at least for employment in Malta. At the end of that time he should be transplanted.

Senior.—It seems, too, that the Governor, the Chief Secretary, and the Assistant Secretary, have all nearly the same work to do. Could there not be a division of labour?

Dingli.—What I should like would be to change the name of Assistant Secretary into Under Secretary, and

then to divide the civil business between the Chief Secretary and the Under Secretary.

Senior.—What, then, would you leave for the Governor?

Dingli.—General superintendence.

Senior.—That would do if they were active, public-spirited men, whose souls were in their business, or if the Governor could keep them up to their work. But he does not appoint them, and cannot dismiss them. They may be careless or ignorant or stupid. If he has bad substitutes he must do the work himself.

Dingli.—He must; and such has till lately been the state of things. Poor Lushington was the first good Secretary that we had. We are called a priest-ridden people. The influence of the clergy among the lower classes is great, but they exercise at present no political power. If, however, an English or an Irish Catholic, with the ambition and the activity which belong to those races, were appointed Bishop, he might exert great, and probably mischievous, influence. The lower clergy are inferior in knowledge and talent to the majority of the voters; they are quiet men, and unlikely, spontaneously, to begin an agitation. The superior clergy are better educated, but they take no

part in political matters. The Bishop is very old; they think of appointing a coadjutor, *cum spe successionis.* It is important for the tranquillity of the island that he should not be an ambitious man. The see is one of the very best in the Pope's gift; it is worth £1000 a year. The Crown has a veto; no foreign power can legally nominate to any benefice or office in Malta, without the assent of the Crown. But it would be dangerous to exercise that veto. A Bishop named by the Pope, in defiance of the Crown, could be deprived of the temporalities of the see, but the people would acknowledge his spiritual authority. It is advisable that the Government should come to an understanding with the Pope as to the person to be nominated. The Pope, without intending to do so, may give us a firebrand. The French, who have lately been passing through Malta in such numbers, often asked the Maltese how they could bear to be under a Protestant Government. Prince Jérôme, it is said, was eloquent on that subject. The answer generally was that if they, the French, had shown to the Catholic religion as much respect as is shown to it by the English, they might still be in possession of Malta. And in fact this great mass of property would

scarcely have been retained by the Church if we had been under any of the existing Catholic governments. It would have been secularised in Malta, as it has been throughout the Continent.

Saturday, April 5.—I spent three hours in company with Sciortino and Dr. Pullicino in the Orphan School, and in one of the infant schools.

The Orphan School contains about 150 boys and girls as boarders and teachers; 400 or 500 day-scholars. The highest class of boys, from about twelve to fifteen years old, was reading one of the Irish National School-books. The lesson for the day was Cowper's "Alexander Selkirk." The intercourse between them and the teachers was in English. I asked them the meaning of the line, "I must finish my journey alone."

"What journey did he mean?"

"The journey of his life," they answered.

I put several other questions, which they answered equally well. Having heard Dr. Pullicino accused of neglecting English, I was agreeably disappointed. They went through some more exercises in mental and written arithmetic, and explained its principles.

The girls had finished their work before we reached them. We walked over the dormitories and some other rooms. The building is a suppressed convent, and the apartments are larger and loftier than those of an English palace. In this climate a thorough draft is not dangerous, all the windows were open—some indeed were unglazed—and the atmosphere was perfect. So was the cleanliness. I asked the mistress how long it was intended to keep the girls.

"Till seventeen or eighteen," she answered.

I told her that our experience in Ireland, where the famine left many thousand orphans, was that neither boys nor girls could be safely kept after twelve or thirteen; that those sent out at those ages, or before, turned out well, but that those kept longer became unfit for self-management, and were found helpless and often vicious.

Sciortino said that the fault of the institution was that the girls were kept too long, that the mistress thought them degraded by being sent out to service, which after all was their natural employment; a much better one than that of governesses, for whom there is little demand, or sempstresses or lace-makers, which are independent, but precarious and ill-paid businesses.

I said that if they were made good dressmakers, taught, as they are, Italian and English, they would be easily placed with English travellers as ladies' maids. I did not find that they were taught to cook. This is also the great defect in the education of the lower classes in England.

In the infant school, where the children are from four years old to about seven, reading and writing are not taught. The instruction is oral, and confined, as far as I could perceive, to English. I was pleased with their progress.

The schoolroom was a vaulted apartment, 30 feet high, and perhaps 200 feet long; the air, though there must have been 200 children in it, perfectly pure; very different from that of an English schoolroom.

Sunday, April 6.—I walked with Sciortino over Fort Manuel. It did not appear to me well-armed or strong. The Italian Legion is encamped on its glacis. They are fine-looking men; but I find a strong prejudice against them. Many are said to have been among the refugees whom More O'Ferrall repelled from the island in 1848.

Sciortino.—We are anxious that they should not be

disbanded here. We are already overpeopled and over-patriotic. Nor ought they to wish to be left among us for we are intolerant of foreigners.

Senior.—I am glad to hear it; I wish all our outlying possessions to hate their neighbours.

Sciortino.—The Maltese then will suit you. They hate and despise the Sicilians and the Neapolitans, they hate and despise the Spaniards and the Arabs, they hate the French and the Piedmontese. The English are the only people whom they respect, and I am not sure that much love is mixed with that respect.

We talked of the land in mortmain.

Sciortino.—The great inconvenience arising from the extent of the land in the hands of the Government is that you have to deal with a proprietor who does not act on the principles which influence all other proprietors. The object of an individual is to make the most of his property. He is always looking out for the means by which it can be made most useful to the public, because it will thereby be most profitable to himself. There is a house which, at no great expense I could enable to hold three families as comfortably as it now holds one. An individual would be delighted to sell or

to let it to me for that purpose. But it belongs to the Government, and I cannot get their permission.

Senior.—Dingli told me that he thought it the duty of the Government to promote as much as possible the house accommodation of the public.

Sciortino.—I wish that they would act on that principle. It is quite against another of their principles, or at least of their practices, which is to throw obstacles in the way of the subdivision of tenements. Then we are constantly met by engineering objections. A friend of mine has a house at Pietà, which he wishes to raise by one story. The engineers object, though it will still be lower than the houses all round it. Another wishes to build some storehouses on the other side of the Quarantine Harbour, opposite Floriana. The site is about 550 yards from the works. The engineers object. They do not pretend that the storehouses will interfere with the works, but they say that it is against principle. The consequence is that we consider the fortifications as our enemies, and try to prevent or retard every extension of them.

He drank tea with us in the evening, and we reconsidered the possibility of improving the University. We

looked at the details of the expenditure. We found the expenditure on the University to be £2800 a year, of which £1470 is paid to 14 professors, and £810 to 15 teachers. Of the 14 professors Sciortino thinks that 6, whose salaries amount to £710, ought to be dismissed. Of the 15 teachers he thinks that 3 ought to go. Their salaries amount to £170, so that £880 is the amount of the salaries of the inefficient professors and teachers. To dismiss them on half-pay would cost £440 a year. £260 a year might be saved by having only one professor of Law and only one of Theology, instead of two of each. On the other hand, the chair of Political Economy must, of course, be revived; but I am inclined to think that a salary of £100 a year, instead of £160, would be sufficient for that chair, and perhaps for that of English Literature, if the professor were a lawyer, and were allowed to practise at the bar. We find that an Attorney or Solicitor-General can be at the head of the bar, and yet spend from six to eight hours every evening in the House of Commons. If a young though rising barrister were taken, he might well devote eight or nine hours a week to his professorship without injury to his practice, and when he became too busy he might give up his chair. A

succession of professors is perhaps better than a permanent one.

The medical professorship might well be filled by persons in medical practice. Want of money does not appear to me to be an insuperable obstacle to the improvement of the University.

One means of economy may perhaps be found in the Secretaries' office. The Governor, the Chief Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, and the Secretary's chief clerk, all do the same business. One of them might perhaps be spared.

We looked at the Budget for 1854, the last that I have seen. Of the revenue of £127,000 a year, £86,000 arises from Customs, and £28,000 from land; only £1,425 is the result of direct taxation by licences, principally for the sale of wines and spirits.

There is no local taxation. The churches and benefices are endowed with land. The poor are supported by the Government, which spends £3000 a year on outdoor relief. The schools are maintained by the Government or by endowment.

The Maltese are practically, except through the Customs, an untaxed people. This, however, renders any extraordinary expenditure on the part of the

Government difficult, as the income is strictly limited. To impose a new direct tax is perhaps impossible, and to increase the indirect taxation might be dangerous. There is, however, generally a surplus—More O'Ferrall left one of £44,000—which is being gradually expended on public works.

Monday, April 7.—We drove with Sciortino and his sisters to Città Vecchia, and thence to Verdala, one of the country houses of the Governor. We were there on nearly the highest ground in Malta, between three and four hundred feet above the sea. It bounded our view on all sides except the west, and we were high enough to see over the walls into the crops between; so that some blue and some green were mixed with the general grey. To the north we looked down into St Paul's Bay, the supposed scene of his shipwreck. I was delighted with the purity and freshness of the air. It seemed to be one in which no amount of exercise would tire.

Città Vecchia contains, as far as I could discover, two great churches, eight or nine convents, twenty or thirty palaces, and one shop, tenanted by a greengrocer. Everything servile and commercial seems

banished to the neighbouring town of Rabato. The three or four persons that we met in its streets and on its lofty ramparts, now disarmed, were priests.

"Here," I said to Sciortino, "if I were a Maltese, I should like to live."

"Your taste is not singular," he answered. "Houses are dearer here than even in Valetta. The great ambition of the old Maltese families is to have a summer residence in Città Vecchia. It is deserted, as you see, in winter, but in summer all these palaces are inhabited."

We found in some of the streets the only grass that I have seen in Malta.

Verdala is a large square tower, looking down on a narrow valley planted with oranges, lemons and olives, called the Boschetto. Here the Grand Masters could walk for half a mile in the only leafy shade in the island. The English Governors neglected it, cut down many of the trees, and ploughed up the garden. Sir William Reid inhabits the tower during the summer, and is gradually restoring the Boschetto. The temperature is six degrees lower than that of Valetta.

We talked of Maltese emigration.

Sciortino.—Our emigrants are ill-protected by our

Barbary consuls. According to our treaties they are entitled, when defendants, to be judged by the law of Malta. But the consul knows nothing of that law.

I should like to see along that coast a Maltese assessor appointed to every consul. The Maltese emigrants would form colonies which, under active British protection, would become British in feeling. The expense would not be great. About £150 a year, or at most £200, would pay an assessor, who might perhaps also act as vice-consul. Of course he must be required to speak English.

On our return we left the carriage at the Porta Reale, and walked through Strada Stretta, a narrow street, as might be inferred from its name, which runs through the whole length of Valetta from the Porta Reale to St. Elmo.

In this street, under the old *régime*, all duels between knights were fought. To fight was imperative on every one who had given or received an insult. Brydone tells of a young knight who, while he was there, was degraded and sentenced to five years' solitary imprisonment for having refused a challenge. The combatants were bound to put up their swords on the

interference of a knight, a priest, or a woman; and it might be supposed that in this narrow street such an interference would have been immediate. It seems, however, that it sometimes came too late, for in his time red crosses, each marking the spot where a knight had been killed, were numerous along the whole line of the street. They are now all effaced.

We looked into the Jesuits' church, one of the most richly ornamented in Valetta.

Sciortino.—The greatest mistake that Sir William Reid has made is letting the Jesuits into Valetta. It was against the advice, I may say the protestations, of Lushington, the best Secretary, perhaps the best public servant, that we ever had. They seduced him by professing love for the English, perfect toleration, and great schemes for education. Their preaching and their education are now as anti-Protestant and anti-English as is possible; some of them, such as Zappetti, may perhaps be caught *flagrante delicto*, and turned out. The Maltese clergy hate them, and so does the greater part of the Maltese public; their influence is chiefly among the women, which does not tend to appease the dislike of the men. It will not be difficult to form schools much better than theirs, and if they

lose their scholars I think that they will retire. The schools of the Government are open gratuitously, those of the Jesuits only on payment.

Dr. Dingli drank tea with us.

He talked with some asperity of the inconvenience suffered by Malta from the hostility of its nearest neighbour, the King of Naples.

Dingli.—The Neapolitan sovereigns seem to have never acquiesced in the separation of the island from Naples by Charles V. and to have always been trying to repossess it or to injure it. King Ferdinand has just put Malta in quarantine in all his ports of Sicily and Italy, and announces that he will continue that quarantine as long as there is a patient with typhus in any one of our hospitals. And when is there not a case of typhus amongst 150,000 persons? Last year, when there was an abundant harvest in Sicily, and a scarcity in Malta, he prohibited the exportation of corn from Sicily. Wheat was sixty shillings a quarter in Malta, and twenty-eight a day's sail off, at Messina. As he hates his own subjects as much as he does us, he enjoyed the double pleasure of ruining them and starving us.

Tuesday, April 8.—I took a long walk with Dr. Collings, the superintendent of charitable institutions. As he is a medical man I asked him for a medical view of the climate of Malta; but I will not repeat his statement of it, as he gave to me afterwards a fuller and a more precise report in a paper, which I annex.

I inquired if *coups de soleil* were frequent.

Collings.—Very frequent in summer.

Senior.—Are they instantaneous, or the effects of long exposure?

Collings.—Instantaneous. I witnessed a remarkable proof of this when I served as surgeon on board a frigate in the Indian Ocean. On a cloudy day a man was going aloft. As he was climbing the futtock shrouds he put up his hand to draw himself up. At that instant the clouds opened and the sun peeped out, but not for a second. That single ray struck the man's arm, and blistered it from the wrist to the shoulder. If it had hit the head instead of the arm, he would have been killed.

We talked of the mendicancy of Malta. It is not perhaps more general than that of Cairo, or of the south of France—for there, indeed, it is universal—but it is more importunate.

Collings.—More O'Ferrall intended to get rid of it. For that purpose, of course, it was necessary to provide for all those who cannot support themselves. To a great extent this is done; but we found, on inquiry, that there were still about four hundred and fifty impotent persons for whom there was no room in the public hospitals. Their support would not have cost £450 a year, but there would have been a further expense in hiring a building to receive them. Sir William Reid thought other objects more urgent. More O'Ferrall was an admirable administrator; in two years he raised the revenue from £120,000 a year to £136,000. We owe to him more public works and institutions than we do to any previous Governor, and he left in the treasury a surplus of £40,000.

Senior.—What has become of it?

Collings.—It has gone principally in roads and schools.

Senior.—An excellent employment of it.

Collings.—Yes, if the schools had always been built, and the roads made where they were most wanted. But some of the schools, such as that of Floriana, are not half filled, and one road, which cost £20,000, does not open a new district, but merely shortens the

distance between places already communicating. The purchase of the land was expensive, and it will cost £300 a year to keep it up.

Senior.—What means did More O'Ferrall take to raise the revenue?

Collings.—Chiefly an improved management of the public land and houses.

The Government houses were let at shamefully low rents. He made a new valuation, and then offered them to the existing tenants at fifteen per cent. below that valuation. Some, such as the Bishop of Gibraltar, who had previously been lodged gratuitously, he forced to pay. He built storehouses, which give a rent of ten per cent. on the outlay. If the engineers, who are the pests of Malta, had not stopped him, he would have built more.

He intended to build a new market. It would have cost £6000, and the stalls would have let for £600 a year. The present market has only thirteen stalls. The thirteen owners of them meet every morning and decide what shall be the prices of the day, you may conceive with what degree of equity or forbearance. Though corn has fallen thirty per cent. during the last two months, bread has not fallen five per cent.

Our theatre is small and dear. He intended to build a new one, which would have given five per cent. on the outlay and have reduced the prices of the existing one. He intended to render profitable the money in the treasury. We have usually sixty or seventy thousand pounds idle in a box, and it costs us a thousand a year to take care of it. If he had retained the government, I believe that he would have raised the revenue sufficiently to enable us to get rid of the only tax which is really felt, the duty of ten shillings a quarter on corn, which produces about £40,000 a year; and in ordinary years raises the price of bread twenty-five per cent.

Senior.—How came he to resign?

Collings.—He took a dislike to Malta from the beginning; I was with him on the deck of the steamer when we first saw Valetta. "Is that," he said to me, "the rock on which I am to live? I will take good care not to stay there long." Then he was a sensitive man, and, as a reformer, of course he made enemies.

The attacks on him in parliament for repelling the Italian refugees in 1848 annoyed him. The priests, too, I fancy, presumed too much on his Catholicism, and made pretensions on which they would scarcely

have ventured if they had had to deal with a Protestant.

I now insert Dr. Collings's observations on the climate of Malta:—

"Climate of Malta between 1847–48 and 1855–56, both years inclusive, from the observations of Dr. Collings.

"We have in Malta five winter and five summer months, spring and autumn being each of one month's duration. Winter sets in about the middle of November, summer about the middle of May. The average winter temperature is 62° F., that of summer 78°, of spring 68°, of autumn 72°.

"The annual fall of rain averages 17 inches. Twenty inches makes a wet season; when the fall is less than 14 inches, the want of water is felt. As much as 22 inches of rain fell in 1848–49, as little as 11 inches in 1854–55. No rain falls in summer; the first fall is late in September or early in October. The latter part of October and early part of November, and again all February, are the times of great rainfall; the end of November, all December and January, are usually clear, and constitute the short or St. Martin's

summer. Nothing can equal the climate of Malta at this time. The prevailing winds in winter are from the W. and N., in spring from the N. and E., in summer from the E. and S.; and in autumn the sirocco, or S.E. wind, is almost constant.

"In winter the W.S.W., the N.W. and the N.N.E. are cold piercing winds: the first coming to us from the snow-covered Atlas range, the second from Corsica and Sardinia, the third from the snowy cap of Etna. When these winds blow the thermometer affords no index to the feelings; it may stand at 60°, whilst you feel that it must be but 45° at most. This arises from the rareness of the atmosphere, proved by seeing Etna distinctly from the sea-coast of Malta, though 128 miles distant. In summer we have an occasional scorching wind from the Sahara Desert; it comes from the S.W. by S. point of the compass. I have seen the thermometer exposed to this wind mark 96°; this was on July 8 and 9, 1848; within doors, with my window shut, the mercury rose to 84°. Lebeccio is the name given in the Mediterranean to this wind; it impregnates the atmosphere with impalpable dust, it extracts moisture from everything. Alas for new unseasoned furniture in this wind! It is not unhealthy. We have rarely

more than three days of this wind each summer. The autumn is rendered detestable in Malta by the S.E. or sirocco wind. Nothing escapes the influence of this pest. It enervates the human frame, so as to render the strongest weak; it not only affects the muscular system; the most placid become irritable, and the strongest energy degenerates into sloth under a week's continuance of sirocco. It accelerates the progress of disease, especially consumption, and retards convalescence. Spring has no peculiar winds; the N.E. predominates, but it has no remarkable effect on the human frame.

"If I recollect right, 1853 was particularised in your Journal with respect to the Algerian climate. Here in that year 18·27 inches of rain fell; there were 177 clear days, 48 cloudy, 39 variable, 38 in which rain fell, 60 windy, and 3 tempestuous.

"The highest range of the thermometer was 92° during a lebeccio, in August; the lowest 49°, with a N.N.E. wind, in February; the greatest range in twenty-four hours was 7°, in October. The equability of temperature is remarkable, the range rarely exceeding 4° in the twenty-four hours. This tells in two ways, being as trying in summer as it is beneficial in winter.

"The uniformity, the mildness and the dryness of the Malta climate in winter, renders it a good resort for invalids with chest affections, particularly of an inflammatory type, but they should not arrive before the middle of November, and ought to quit by the middle of April; before or after these periods no climate can be worse for consumption. I have seen the disease progress with frightful rapidity under the baneful influence of the sirocco. Spring and autumn are not healthy seasons; the system is undergoing the change from heat to cold, perspiration is easily excited and easily checked, fever of a mild bilious remittent type is the frequent consequence of such checks. These fevers are common to the Mediterranean, but it has become fashionable to designate the disease Malta fever, which has become a sort of bugbear. Summer is a healthy though a trying season. We have no endemic disease during the hot months, saving ophthalnia of a very tractable kind. The drawback to summer of late years has been the development of cholera, which has in each of its four visitations broken out about mid-June, and disappeared about the end of October. Summer would be less intolerable than English people usually find it were the habits of the natives more followed:

namely, early rising, the mid-day nap, unexciting food and drink, and not fussing about the heat.

"In conclusion, I state it as the result of careful observation during eight years, that on the whole Malta is a healthy climate to the English constitution. It is peculiarly beneficial in all bronchial and trochial affections; it is as markedly injurious to all diseases of the nervous system, such as tic-doloreux, sciatica, &c., and most forms of asthma. Infantile diseases, such as croup, scarlatina, measles, chicken-pox, &c., assume generally a very mild and benignant type."

Mr. Inglett paid us a long visit. He is a Maltese who has passed some time in England.

Inglett.—I remember Malta before the Commissioners came. Seldom has such a change been produced in twenty years. At that time no Maltese stood straight before an Englishman. They were almost on all fours. Now, for the first time in their history, they feel themselves really free men. Labour, land, houses, everything of which the high price denotes prosperity, has doubled in value. Emigration has ceased; the demand for labour is such that it is difficult to get servants. One symptom of improvement is the prevalence of

complaint and criticism. When I was young, no one complained of misgovernment; to be misgoverned, that is to say, to see our welfare sacrificed to the convenience or to the caprice of our rulers, seemed to us to be the natural state of a subordinate people.

No one complained that the Maltese were not regarded by the dominant stranger as fellow-creatures, because no one recollected a time when they had been so regarded. The English treated them merely with contempt. The interests of the Maltese were never thought of when those of the garrison were in question, but there was no active oppression. Under the Knights they had to suffer not only contempt, but every sort of injustice and wrong which a dissolute debauched foreign aristocracy could inflict on subjects with whom it had no community of race or language or feelings.

Senior.—You think, then, very ill of the government of the Knights.

Inglett.—I think that it was the worst Christian government that has ever existed, except perhaps that of Abyssinia. The Knights were pirates by trade; they began their profession by making vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, which they never intended to keep, and violated ostentatiously every day. They spent their time in gambling, in dedauchery, in private

quarrels, in intrigues against the Grand Master, and in outraging the wives and daughters of the Maltese, with the occasional interlude of a piratical expedition against the Turks.

When the French attacked them, not a Maltese lifted a hand in their defence except by compulsion; and when the French were driven out, not a Maltese asked to be replaced under the Order.

Senior.—Complaint being then the test of good government, was there most under More O'Ferrall or under Sir William Reid?

Inglett.—Under O'Ferrall, for he was a reformer. With him all was change, movement, and party spirit. All now is tranquillity and stationariness. Both states have their advantages. Perhaps O'Ferralls and Reids ought to alternate. Sir William's good sense and judgment and mildness and caution were a sort of relief after the feverish activity of O'Ferrall; and now we begin to tire of repose, and ask for excitement and progress.

Wednesday, April 9.—This was to be our last day. I went to take leave of the Governor. He told me that he had read my Journal, and had found scarcely a word to alter in what I had attributed to himself, but that

he would go over it again carefully and return it to me to-morrow morning.

Reid.—I have been thinking over your scheme of sending young Maltese to England for education. I find that every Governor has proposed it, and has ultimately relinquished it, from conviction, or perhaps from opposition.

Senior.—What appear to have been the objections?

Reid.—A feeling that parents who wish their sons to have an English education ought to procure it for them at their own expense, and that if the public interfered it would paralyse private exertion.

Senior.—I am told that during the last ten years only two young men, Dingli and Sciortino, have been sent to Europe. Private exertion, therefore, does not seem to do much. It may be said, too, that the Government is the great landed proprietor; that its territorial revenue is equal to that of twenty-eight families of £1000 a year each, that therefore it ought not to act like a Government supported only by taxes, and confine itself to its strict duties of protecting its subjects from violence and fraud, but also to perform some of the services of imperfect obligation which are expected from a landed aristocracy, one of the most

important of which is the providing a succession of highly educated young men.

Reid.—The argument would be strong if the Maltese Government were maintained solely by its domain. But, if it draws £28,000 a year from its lands and houses, it draws £40,000 a year from a tax on bread. Before the island had a constitution I should have hesitated before I employed money raised, at least in part, by taxation for a purpose which, though I think that it may be useful, cannot be called necessary. I shall not lose sight of it, but I shall not propose it unless it has the support of the elected members.

Senior.—Was More O'Ferrall right in repelling the Italian refugees in 1848?

Reid.—Perfectly so, many of them were ruffians whom the Sicilian Government let loose when it opened the gaols in its flight from Palermo. There were not 2500 British troops in the island. To have let into it some thousands of desperadoes would have been madness. His conduct was cruelly misrepresented for party purposes.

Thursday, April 10.—We left Malta for Marseilles.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

Paris, May 19, 1856.—I breakfasted this morning with M. de Lesseps; while we were at breakfast he received a letter from Said Pasha, of which I annex a copy. It exemplifies what has been often mentioned in this Journal, his sensibility to European opinion. If wholly written or dictated by himself, as M. de Lesseps believes it to be, it shows, too, his command of the French language. His severe treatment of the Bedouins, and the extension of the conscription to the Sheykhs and the Copts, are familiar to my readers. It seems that he has now, for the first time, heard that they have been disapproved by some members of the consular body. Censure is so new to him that it excites his astonishment as well as his anger. He treats as an absurdity the supposition that the Sheykhs dislike the military service, and, having no misgivings as to the

wisdom or justice of any part of his conduct, he attributes the criticisms on it to some deeply-laid foreign intrigue.

"MON CHER AMI,—Sachant combien vous vous intéressez à tout ce qui me concerne, je ne puis m'empêcher de vous dire un mot de l'inconcevable revirement qui s'est opéré ici depuis votre départ.

"Vous savez dans quels termes je me trouvais alors avec les représentants de toutes les puissances. Vous vous rappelez leurs protestations d'amitié, leurs démonstrations de sympathie et de bon vouloir, les pompeux éloges qu'ils m'ont prodigués à l'endroit du grand canal maritime des deux mers, les témoignages non équivoques de satisfaction que provoquaient de leur part chacun des actes de mon gouvernement, enfin les remercîments qu'ils m'ont adressés pour l'empressement que j'ai mis à donner une solution équitable à une foule de réclamations pendantes depuis de longues années.

"Eh bien! tout cela s'est évanoui comme un mirage.

"À entendre aujourd'hui quelques-uns de Messieurs les Consuls généraux, je ne suis qu'un barbare et un exterminateur (vous aurez sans doute compris que ce

qui m'a valu ces gracieuses épithètes c'est la leçon que j'ai donnée il y a plus de 9 mois aux Arabes rebelles, et qui à cette époque avait été considérée par tous comme une mesure indispensable à la tranquillité du pays). La vallée du Nil depuis le Senaar jusqu'à Alexandrie n'est plus qu'une vallée de larmes.

"Au lieu de m'appuyer pour consolider mon gouvernement (remarquez bien ceci) sur les Sheykhs de village comme l'ont fait mes prédécesseurs, je les ai mécontentés, en obligeant leurs fils à servir dans l'armée.

"Enfin (et ceci est peut-être le plus monstrueux de tous mes crimes) je pousse l'injustice et la barbarie jusqu'à recruter mes soldats parmi les Coptes, parmi ces infortunés Coptes, qui, ainsi que les fils des Sheykhs, se trouvent si malheureux depuis qu'ils servent dans l'armeé, que la description qu'ils ont faite, à leurs semblables des mauvais traitements qu'ils ont eu à subir attire journellement sous les drapeaux un si grand nombre de volontaires.

"Vous qui connaissez mieux que qui que ce soit tous mes faits et gestes, et qui avez eté témoin de mes rapports avec MM. les Consuls généraux, vous serez sans doute bien surpris d'un changement si subit et si inattendu, mais certes votre étonnement ne sera pas plus

profond que le mien. Il y a là-dessous quelque chose dont il m'est impossible de me rendre compte aujourd'hui, et que l'avenir m'expliquera peut-être.

" Ce que je vous en dis, faites y bien attention, ce n'est pas pour que vous preniez ma défense, car je serais désolé qu'on pût supposer que ma conduite ait besoin d'être justifiée. C'est uniquement afin que vous soyez prévenu de ce qui se passe, car je ne serais pas étonné que ces récriminations virulentes que leurs auteurs se sont bien gardés de m'adresser à moi-même ne parvinssent à vos oreilles d'une manière ou de l'autre.

" Mais laissons là ces absurdités, et parlons un peu de notre grande affaire. Où en êtes-vous, et comment vont en Angleterre les souscriptions et l'opinion publique ? Trouvons-nous toujours de la résistance chez les hommes d'État de la Grande Bretagne ? Ce sont là des détails qui m'intéressent vivement, et que j'espère trouver dans votre prochaine lettre. En attendant, je vous dirai que j'ai donné mon approbation aux modifications qui ont été introduites tant dans le cahier des charges que dans les statutes.

" Kœnig Bey vous renverra par ce courrier une de vos dernières épreuves dûment approuvée.

"Adieu, mon cher Monsieur de Lesseps, conservez-moi votre amitié, et croyez à la sincérité de la mienne.

(Signé) "MOHAMMED SAID.

"Alexandrie, le 26 avril 1856."

Birr Castle, October 26, 1856.—The following extract from a letter which I received to-day from Mr. Bruce, dated September 29, 1856, carries the history of Egypt a few months farther:—

"The survey of the coast in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, extending towards the eastward, by Captain Maunsell, has established sufficiently the difficulty and expense of making a harbour there, and the fact that even if made it would be dangerous to approach. This would be no insuperable obstacle if there were no means of crossing the Isthmus except by a Canal; but when it is considered that you can carry by rail with no great difference in the cost to Alexandria the valuable traffic which alone will pass through the Canal, I do not think that its execution can be advocated as a wise application of the industrial resources of Egypt.

"The *Times* correspondent is changed, and I hope that the new one will be more fair than his predecessor

if he considers it necessary to dwell as much on the internal administration of Egypt. The less they dwell on it, however, the better, for the people of Alexandria are profoundly ignorant of the internal state of the country. I can give you an instance: Nothing was more criticised than the policy of Said's proceedings last year against the Bedouins. The most experienced and long-headed of the English residents (including 'our correspondents') declared that Said would not succeed in putting them down—that the Bedouins were useful, and ought to be conciliated, but that, if driven into rebellion, the tranquillity of Egypt could not be maintained, and communications would be rendered unsafe, &c. Never were prophecies uttered with more oracular dogmatism, and never were they more signally falsified. The power of the Bedouins is as little to be apprehended as their industry and ability are to be valued. They have been completely crushed, and are now seeking to be re-admitted on any terms which Said may think fit to grant. He has succeeded in his object; whether he used unnecessary violence or not to effect it is another question. The fact is, Said is not the fool they suppose, nor is it so easy as they imagine to find out remedies for the evils of a state of

society like that of Egypt, which has existed pretty nearly in its present form from the time of the Pharaohs. One Viceroy is not much better than another—their eccentricities only assume different shapes; and I must say that whoever may be the sufferers from their system of government, I do not think that the Europeans have any right to complain.

"Yours truly,

(Signed) "FREDERIC BRUCE."

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